

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Eighteenth Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation  
of Labor

HELD AT

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI,  
December 12th to 20th Inclusive,  
1898

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OFFICERS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

## PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade union system.

## CONSTITUTION.

### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies, into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other, to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure national legislation in the interest of the working people and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the

second Monday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of President; third, Report of Executive Council; fourth, Report of Secretary; fifth, Resolutions; sixth, laws; seventh, Organization; eighth, Labels and Boycotts; ninth, Grievances; tenth, Local or Federated Bodies.

Sec. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. This committee shall meet at the place for holding the Convention three days prior to the Convention, and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Resolutions of any character, or propositions for changes in this Constitution, intended for consideration by the Convention, shall be sent to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor at least two weeks previous to the date of the Convention. The Secretary shall have the same compiled and printed in the programme of business and mailed to each delegate-elect and to the executive officer of each affiliated organization, and no resolution or constitutional provision shall be considered, unless printed in the programme, without a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

Sec. 6. The report of the Grievance Committee shall be considered in executive session.

Sec. 7. None other than members of a bona fide trade union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

Sec. 8. Party politics, whether they be democratic, republican, socialist, populist, prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention

of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates; and so on; and from Central Bodies and State Federations, and from Local Unions not having a National Union, and from Federal Labor Unions, one delegate. Only *bona fide* wage-workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other trade unions shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than October 31, preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation or in any central body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, six Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation, and shall report his acts and doings to the Annual Convention of the Federation.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sums as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish to the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1 and September 1 of each year, to the Secretaries of all affiliated organizations, a list of the names and addresses of Secretaries and Organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$250 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on October 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and



send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$1,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sums as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property and security of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary. He shall deposit all monies belonging to the Federation in bank in his name as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; and before any money thus deposited can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control, and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$100.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a national or international union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all local unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention in printed form a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts, and no endorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the rights of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in

the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3.50 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All local trades unions and Federal Labor unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council a full statement of the grievance before the strike occurs. Unions violating this section shall forfeit all claims upon the American Federation of Labor or affiliated organizations for support.

Sec. 11. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council and shall call for nominations. The names of nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

#### ARTICLE X.—DEFENSE FUND.

Section 1. All organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor may become participants in the common defense fund, by payment of a per capita tax of five cents per month on each member of their respective organizations to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 2. No organization shall receive assistance from the defense fund of this Federation unless it has contributed to the same, as per section 1, for a period of at least one year, and no person shall be entitled to benefit unless he was a member prior to the date on which the strike or lockout began.

Sec. 3. The assistance rendered to members engaged in strike or lockout shall be \$3 each per week, which amount shall not be payable to a member for more than ten weeks in any one year.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the right to refuse assistance from the defense fund to any affiliated organization; provided, however, that the union so refused shall have the right of appeal to the next convention.

Sec. 5. In case of request from any union for help from the defense fund, the Executive Council shall have the right to investigate the strike or lockout and endeavor to settle the same before deciding whether the request for

financial support shall be granted or not. The expense of such investigation shall be charged to the defense fund.

Sec. 6. No support shall be granted to the members of any union from the defense fund unless they have strictly complied with the laws of their own organization.

Sec. 7. In the case of local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, no support shall be granted by the Council, unless prior to calling the members out the approval of the Executive Council has been secured.

Sec. 8. All moneys received by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the defense fund shall be carried on his books separate and distinct from all other receipts, and no appropriation from this fund shall be made for any purpose but that for which it was contributed.

#### ARTICLE XI.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From International or National trade unions, a per capita tax of one-third of one per cent per member per month; from Local trade unions and Federal unions, five cents per member per month. Central Labor bodies and State Federations containing 1,000 members, or less, shall pay \$2.50 every three months; containing over 1,000 members, \$5 every three months.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full to October 31, preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears, it shall become suspended from membership in the Federation, and can be reinstated only by vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XII.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

Section 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to, or retain in, their Councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated, under penalty of being denied representation in the Annual Convention of this Federation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Unions in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Federal unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more local unions in any city, belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and local Central Labor Union shall use all possible means to organize and connect as local unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National and International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen preclude any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, or a strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to trade unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meeting for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the trade union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this constitution, and shall be granted a Local Certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union official connected with this Federation.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions to Unions from the vicinity where chartered Central Labor Unions exist, to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federation of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. No Federal Labor Union shall be recognized as affiliated if its membership consists of a majority of active members of trade unions.

Sec. 7. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central bodies.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—AMENDMENTS.

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention, and to do so shall require a two-thirds vote.

## DELEGATES TO THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
American Agents Association....	1	7	T. K. Garrity, 1342 Wood St., Covington, Ky.
Journeyman Bakers and Confectioners International Union.....	1	21	Ben E. Perigny, 49 Bennett St. Boston, Mass.
Journeyman Barbers National Union .....	1	30	James E. Fitzgerald, 225 W. Twelfth St., Kansas City, Mo.
International Union of Bicycle Workers.....	1	7	J. F. Mulholland, 201 Auditorium Bldg., Toledo, O.
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.....	1	3	John Sloum, 243 Pennsylvania Av., Kansas City, Mo.
Boot and Shoe Workers Union.....	1	94	John F. Tobin, 620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.
Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders.....	1	22	Wm. J. Gilthorpe, 61 Wyandotte Bank Bldg., Kansas City, Kas.
National Union of United Brewery Workmen.....	2	50	Chas. F. Bechtold, 404 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.....	1	16	Julius Zorn, 404 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.
		50	Luke Grant, 187 E. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		50	P. J. McGuire, 124 N. Ninth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.....	4	50	Harry Lloyd, 308 Chestnut Av., Jamaica Plains, Mass.
		50	O. E. Woodbury, 135 W. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
		50	S. J. Kent, Lincoln Neb.
		67	Samuel Gompers, New York City.
		67	Thos. F. Tracy, 14 Hudson St., Boston, Mass.
Cigarmakers International Union of America.....	4	66	John C. Dornell, 151 Division Av., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		66	Geo. A. Whitaker, 50 W. Second South St., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Retail Clerks National Protective Association of the United States	1	50	Max Morris, 2307 Champa St., Denver, Colo.
Coopers International Union.....	1	15	James A. Cable, 917 Shawnee Av., Kansas City, Kan.
National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers .....	1	20	C. H. Adams, 2901 Summit St., Kansas City, Mo.
National Union of Steam Engineers .....	1	12	F. B. Monaghan, 706 Parker St., Boston, Mass.
Amalgamated Society of Engineers	1	19	Isaac Cowen, "Cleveland Citizen," Cleveland, O.
United Garment Workers of America.....	2	22	Samuel Antler, 7 E. 105th St., New York, N. Y.
		21	Charles W. Sabine, 406 Laurel St., Syracuse, N. Y.
		23	James Duncan, 2 N. Holiday St., Baltimore, Md.
Granite Cutters National Union	2	23	W. J. O'Brien, 885 Third Av., New York City.
American Flint Glass Workers Union .....	1	70	F. C. Dickens, 6th and Grant Sts., Pittsburg, Pa.
Window Glass Flatteners Association of North America.....	1	5	Geo. L. Cake, Twelfth and Sarah Sts., Pittsburg, Pa.
Window Glass Cutters League of America.	1	8	John R. Speelman, Third Av. and Wood St., Pittsburg, Pa.
United Hatters of North America	2	30	Wm. F. Leigh, Box 44, Bethel, Conn.
		30	Martin Lawlor, Bethel, Conn.

ORGANIZATIONS.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
International Union of Journey-men Horseshoers.....	1	20	Joseph Cabill, 277 Twenty-Fourth St., Chicago, Ill.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes International Alliance and Bar- tenders International League of America .....	1	25	Fred C. Dresler, 960 S. Clark St., Chi- cago, Ill.
Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.....	1	80	T. J. Shaffer, 108 4th Av., Pittsburg, Pa.
International Longshoremen's... Union .....	1	80	Daniel J. Keefe, 3029 Lowe Av., Chi- cago, Ill.
United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	1	4	Chas. L. Conine, 435 Gibraltar Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
International Association of... Machinists .....	3	34 38 33	James O'Connell, 950 Monon Block, Chicago, Ill. Stuart Reid, Toledo, O. Geo. H. Warner, 95 Center St., New York, N. Y.
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.....	1	10	Homer D. Call, 124 Linden St., Syra- cuse, N. Y.
United Mine Workers of America	4	40 40 40 40	John Mitchell, Stevenson Building, Indianapolis, Ind. John M. Hunter, Stevenson Build- ing, Indianapolis, Ind. T. L. Lewis, Bridgeport, O. John Faby, Stevenson Building, In- dianapolis, Ind.
Iron Moulders Union of America	3	40 40 30	Martin Fox, Box 388, Cincinnati, O. Joseph F. Valentine, Box 388, Cin- cinnati, O. David Black, Box 388, Cincinnati, O.
American Federation of Musicians	2	30	Owen Miller, 604 Market St., St. Louis, Mo. Charles F. Hahn, 83 E. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
Brotherhood of Painters and Dec- orators of America .....	1	43	James H. Sullivan, 22 E. Center St., Baltimore, Md
Patternmakers National League of America.....	1	13	J. F. McBride, 1019 S. Twenty-Second St., Philadelphia, Pa.
International Printing Pressmen's Union .....	2	20	George F. Kenney, 79 Olive St., New York City. Robert Kelly, 962 Broadway, Somer- ville, Mass.
United Association of Plumbers Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers.....	1	40	John S. Kelley, 512 Ogden Building, Chicago, Ill.
National Steel and Copper Plate Printers of the U. S. A.....	1	4	Charles T. Smith, Bureau of Engrav- ing and Printing, Washington, D. C.
Amalgamated Association of... Street Railway Employees.....	1	30 20	W. B. Mahon, 41 Hodges Building, De- troit, Mich. Andrew Furuseth, S. E. Cor. East and Mission Sts., San Francisco, Cal.
International Seamen's Union ...	2	20	Thomas J. Elderkin, 201 N. May St., Chicago, Ill.
Journeymen Tailors Union of America .....	2	25	John B. Lennon, box 597, Bloomington, Ill.
National Union of Textile Workers	1	25	C. L. Bowman, care of O. P. Lundeen, 1113 Grand Av., Kansas City, Mo.
Theatrical Stage Employees Na- tional Alliance .....	1	23	Henry S. Mills, box 91, Lawrence, Mass.
National Tobacco Workers Union of America.....	2	23	John W. White, 312 N. 16th St., Kansas City, Kan. J. F. Donohue, 820 Mound St., St. Louis, Mo. John Witzel, 547 Roselane St., Louis- ville, Ky.

ORGANIZATIONS.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
		73	Samuel B. Donnelly, DeSoto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.
		72	Eugene F. O'Kourke, 18 Chambers St., New York, N. Y.
International Typographical Union .....	4	72	J. G. Cain, 215 Pearl St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		72	Frank Morrison, 276 Michigan Av., Chicago, Ill.
Amalgamated Woodworkers International Union of America...	2	26	Thomas I. Kidd, 62 Garden City Block, Chicago, Ill.
		25	R. Braunschweig, 602 Garden City Block, Chicago, Ill.
Connecticut State Branch. ....	1	1	Hugh C. Shalvoy, 177 Main St., Danbury, Conn.
Illinois State Branch.....	1	1	Adrian M. Jones, Chicago Record, Chicago, Ill.
Massachusetts State Branch.....	1	1	John F. O'Sullivan, 95 Tyler St., Boston, Mass.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades	1	1	Wm. Strauss, 39 Kelley St., Atlanta, Ga.
Boston(Mass.)Central Labor Union	1	1	D. D. Driscoll, 78 E. Canton St., Boston, Mass.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor	1	1	P. F. Doye, 187 E. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (O.)Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Jacob J. Schmalz, 1310 Main St., Cincinnati, O.
Cleveland (O.)Central Labor Union	1	1	M. S. Hayes, "Cleveland Citizen," Cleveland, O.
Duluth (Minn.) Federated Trades Assembly.....	1	1	W. E. McEwen, Box 10, Duluth, Minn.
Haverhill (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James F. Carey, Haverhill, Mass.
Ithaca (N.Y.) Central Labor Union	1	1	John M. Rife, Aurora St., Ithaca, N. Y.
Kansas City (Kan.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Hugh Curry, 27 N. Sixth St., Kansas City, Kas.
Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council.....	1	1	M. F. Bradley, 1809 Locust St., Kansas City, Mo.
Kewanee (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. P. Keefer, Kewanee, Ill.
Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Andrew J. Casey, 215 Chestnut St., Lawrence, Mass.
Louisville (Ky.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Cyrus W. Coy, 622 Jefferson St., Louisville, Ky.
Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	M. J. Noonan, 20 1/2 Church St., Nashville, Tenn.
Omaha (Neb.) Central Labor Union	1	1	M. Donnelly, Box 520, Omaha, Neb.
Scranton (Pa.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Martin D. Flaherty, Box 447, Scranton, Pa.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Labor Union	1	1	John S. White, 1309 Pine St., St. Louis, Mo.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. F. McCormick, 35 1/2 Bates St., S. W., Washington, D. C.
Blacksmiths' Helpers' Union, 7006	1	1	Joseph Dugan, Moline, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 5915.....	1	1	Geo. E. McNeill, 88 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 6917.....	1	1	Chas. P. Fahey, 702 Main St., Nashville, Tenn.
Federal Labor Union No. 6635.....	1	1	J. V. Smith, 804 E. Eleventh St., Kansas City, Mo.
Federal Labor Union No. 6697.....	1	1	Stephen S. Bonbright, 15 Mercer St., Cincinnati, O.
Federal Labor Union No. 6808.....	1	1	H. E. Barrett, Middleton, Ind.
Federal Labor Union, 6954.....	1	13	Louis Jahns, Box 1200 Moline, Ill.
Federal Labor Union, 6964.....	1	2	John Kirby, Ouray, Col.
Federal Labor Union, 7010.....	1	2	Wm. A. Lossie, Owensboro, Ky.

ORGANIZATIONS.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Federal Labor Union, 7112.....	1	1	John McNulty, South Omaha, Neb.
Federal Labor Union, 7151.....	1	1	W. J. Blain, Hutchinson, Kan.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, 6681.....	1	1	D. A. Cowan, 7608 S. Cartect St., St. Louis, Mo. Care Mike Welsh.
Marine and Stat. Firemen's Union, 5629.....	1	1	Peter Brush, 3606 S. Jefferson Av., St. Louis, Mo.
Stationary Firemen's Union, 6406.....	1	1	C. L. Shamp, 720 Coy St., Kansas City, Kan.
Stationary Firemen's Union, 6123.....	1	1	Harry W. Bausch, 1407 Newberry St., Toledo, O.
Stationary Firemen's Union, 6802.....	1	1	A. H. Pileman, 1838 Penn St., Kansas City, Mo.
Stationary Firemen's Union, 7038.....	1	1	Joseph W. Morton, 70 N. Paulina St., Chicago, Ill.
Hackmen's Protective Union, 6067.....	1	1	Buchanan Keith, 1721 Lake St., Omaha, Neb.
Janitor's and Elevatormen's Alliance, 7102.....	1	1	Frank Brown, 567 Charlotte St., Kansas City, Mo.
Laborers' Protective Union, 6730.....	1	1	George Henry, Helena, Mont.
Laundry Workers Union, 7095.....	1	1	Michael Dalton, Peekskill, N. Y.
Paving Department Workers Union, 6751.....	1	3	James F. Timilty, 10 Cottage Place, Roxbury, Mass.
Piano Makers and Piano Varnish Fin., 7143.....	1	3	Charles Dold, 857 N. Irving Av., Chicago, Ill.
Solar Printers and Operators Union, 7129.....	1	1	W. C. Mormon, 191 Hudson Av., Chicago, Ill.
Roofers Union, 5774.....	1	1	G. G. Snedegar, 2326 Terrace St., Kansas City, Mo.
Sprinkler Fitters Union, 6087.....	1	1	M. J. O'Neill, 228 W. Congress St., Chicago, Ill.
Sprinkler Fitters Union, 6470.....	1	1	P. J. Reynolds, 1000 Graton St., St. Louis, Mo.
Sprinkler Pipe Fitters and Helpers, 6849.....	1	1	Chas. F. Sefferien, 409 W. 39th St., New York City.
Stone Masons Union, 7049.....	1	1	David Maher, 813 W. 12th St., Kansas City, Mo.
Teamsters Protective Union, 5872.....	1	2	George Innis, 185 Orleans St., Detroit, Mich.
Teamsters Protective Union, 7083.....	1	1	S. E. Simpson, Carlinsville, Ill.
Teamsters Union, 7135.....	1	1	John Callahan, 1837 Washington St., Kansas City, Mo.
Teamsters and Drivers Union, 7045.....	1	1	Mat. Bux, 323 So. Spring St., Bellville, Ill.
Tin Plate Workers Union, 6908.....	1	1	W. O. Moore, 2111 So. A St., Elwood, Ind.
Tin Plate Openers, 5914.....	1	2	Wm. Steadman, Elwood, Ind.
Patent Machine Tanners, 6917.....	1	2	George Powell, 31 Front St., New Castle, Pa.
Patent Machine Tanners, 6982.....	1	1	John Rombold, New Castle, Pa.
Tin Plate Workers, 6984.....	1	1	Hugh J. Scanlon, 161 Sycamore St., Mt. Washington, Pittsburg, Pa.
Tin Plate Workers, 7060.....	1	1	Chas. Lawver, Atlanta, Ind.
Tin Plate Workers, 7121.....	1	1	Albert Fox, Gas City, Ind.
FRATERNAL DELEGATES:			
The Union Congress of Great Britain.....	2	1	William Inskip Great Britain.
Trade and Labor Congress of Canada.....	1	1	William Thorn, Great Britain.
			David A. Carey, Toronto, Canada.

The above list shows that 135 delegates were seated, representing 108 organizations—forty-seven international or national organizations, three state branches eighteen central bodies, and forty local unions.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR  
1898

Report of Proceedings.

FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 12, 1898.

The Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened at Stroppe's Hall on the above date at 10 o'clock A. M. It was opened by President Gompers, who introduced Ford A. Allen, of Typographical Union No. 80, who delivered the following address:

Mr. President and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor:

In the name of intelligent unionism and of organized labor of Kansas City, we bid you welcome to a city that was built by honest toil, and that owes its prosperity to a host of working men and women.

In the name of the Industrial Council, we bid you welcome to the most progressive city in the west—a city that is the second railroad center of the continent, the second cattle market of the world, with packing house plants and products that excel all, whose grain receipts and shipments are exceeded by none, and with many other industries that give employment to thousands.

We bid you welcome to a city still in its infancy, yet a giant in its development. Situated upon the banks of two rivers, it covers territory in two states, which are both fertile and prolific in agricultural and mineral products, Kansas City is now the brightest municipal star in the west—an oasis in the territory that, forty years ago, was called the Great American Desert.

We bid you welcome to a city where eight hours constitute a legal day's work; to a city and country that recognize the union label.

There are no people on earth more hospitable, generous and kind than Kansas Cityans, and your presence is an honor that is appreciated by all. We anticipate much good to the thousands of toilers, organized and unorganized, in the states of Missouri and Kansas from the meeting of your honorable body in this city. Representatives of all trades and callings, you wield a power for good that can spring from no other source. Educated in that school of experience, the trade and labor union,

you are in touch with the plain people—the bulwark of the nation—and your actions will be a sure indication of their needs and requirements.

Yours is a peaceable and a laudable mission. Your labors to improve the social condition of the wage-earners, to enable them to raise their standard of life, to guard the workers against enforced idleness, and to enjoy more leisure, have in some instances been rendered inoperative by the judicial decree of class legislation.

Every true friend of labor will welcome the time when the lawmakers of the land will be compelled to legislate in the interest of the whole people. Every friend of liberty will hail the day when the clause in the constitution of our land relating to the organization of the United States courts may be amended, to the end that the un-American, life-tenure, office-holding judges will be elected by the people and for the people to a term not to exceed eight or ten years.

There are many measures of great moment that will command your attention. The toilers in the fields, in the workshops, in all callings, look to you to point the way. Their faith in you and the cause you represent is unbounded, and that it is well-founded is evidenced by the positions in which they have placed you.

That your visit to Kansas City will be profitable to them and a pleasure to you is the earnest desire of the community in which you are to-day, not as strangers, but as brothers and co-workers in the cause of humanity.

Mr. Ford A. Allen's address was well received by the delegates, and responded to by President Gompers, in part, as follows:

We are happy to-day to look out upon your wonderful young city with the realization that it represents a great triumph of labor. That such a city as this can be built in a short space of years is proof that American industry and energy can surmount anything. Where cities like this are built a lesson of the power of labor is laid down. That labor has made such an advance in Kansas City is a matter of general congratulation. That you have an eight-



hour workday, something that labor is struggling for everywhere, is proof that you are an advanced city. We can say for labor to-day that it is marching on, not, perhaps, as rapidly as has been the growth of this great city, but with steady steps, surely and certainly toward the goal of happiness. We have with us to-day representatives of labor who have come across the sea from England to mingle with us in our work for the upbuilding of labor. They come from the British Trades Union Congress to the court of labor in America. The treaties that they will ratify will be far greater than those signed by plenipotentiaries.

President Gompers then declared the Eighteenth Annual Convention called to order to transact the business which may come before it.

Mr. M. F. Bradley, on behalf of the Industrial Council of Kansas City, Mo., presented a gavel to President Gompers.

President Gompers announced the appointment of Ford A. Allen, Assistant Secretary; Ed. J. Stine, Messenger, and John Hanks, Sergeant-at-Arms, subject to the approval of the convention at a later hour.

Thomas F. Tracy, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials having attended to their duty, desire to report as follows:

We have examined the credentials of the following, and recommend that they be seated:

American Agents' Association, Tom R. Garity, 7 votes.

Journeyman Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union, Ben E. Perigny, 21 votes.

Journeyman Barbers' National Union, James E. Fitzgerald, 30 votes.

International Union of Bicycle Workers, J. F. Mulholland, 7 votes.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, John Slocum, 3 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers, John F. Tobin, 94 votes.

Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Wm. J. Gilthroe, 22 votes.

National Union of United Brewery Workmen, Julius Zorn, Charles F. Bechtold, 100 votes.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Luke Grant, 16 votes.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, P. J. McGuire, Henry Lloyd, O. E. Woodbury, S. J. Kent, 200 votes.

Cigarmakers International Union, Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, John C. Dernel, George A. Whitaker, 266 votes.

Retail Clerks' National Protective Association of the United States, Max Morris, 50 votes.

Coopers' International Union, James A. Cable, 15 votes.

National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, C. H. Adams, 20 votes.

National Union of Steam Engineers, F. B. Monaghan, 12 votes.

United Garment Workers of America, Samuel, Autler, Edward B. Sabine, 43 votes.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Isaac Cowen, 19 votes.

Granite Cutters' National Union, James Duncan, W. J. O'Brien, 46 votes.

Window Glass Fasteners' Association of North America, George L. Cake, 5 votes.

Window Glass Cutters' League of America, John K. Speelman, 8 votes.

United Hatters of North America, William F. Leigh, Martin Lawyer, 60 votes.

International Union of Journeymen Horse-shoers, Joseph Cahill, 20 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' National Alliance, etc., Fred C. Dresler, 25 votes.

Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, Theodore J. Shaffer, 80 votes.

International Longshoremen's Union, Daniel J. Keefe, 80 votes.

United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, Charles L. Conine, 4 votes.

International Association of Machinists, James O'Connell, Stuart Reid, George H. Warner, 100 votes.

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Homer D. Call, 10 votes.

United Mine Workers of America, John Mitchell, John M. Hunter, T. L. Lewis, John Fahy, 160 votes.

Iron Moulders' Union of America, David Black, Joseph F. Valentine, Martin Fox, 120 votes.

American Federation of Musicians, Owen Miller, Charles F. Hahn, 60 votes.

Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, James H. Sullivan, 43 votes.

Pattern Makers' National League of America, J. F. McBride, 13 votes.

United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters' Helpers, John S. Kelly, 40 votes.

International Printing Pressmen's Union, George L. Kenney, Robert Kelley, 58 votes.

National Steel and Copper Plate Printers of United States of America, Charles T. Smith, 4 votes.

Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, W. D. Mahon, 30 votes.

International Seamen's Union, Andrew Furuseth, Thomas J. Elderkin, 40 votes.

Journeyman's Tailors Union of America, John B. Lennon, C. L. Bowman, 50 votes.

Theatrical Stage Employees' National Alliance, John W. White, 23 votes.

National Tobacco Workers' Union of America, Jerry Donohue, John Witzel, 46 votes.

International Typographical Union, Samuel B. Donnelly, Eugene F. O'Rourke, J. G. Cain, Frank Morrison, 289 votes.

National Union of Textile Workers, Henry S. Mills, 36 votes.

Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union of America, Thomas I. Kidd, Richard Braunschweig, 51 votes.

Blacksmiths' Helpers' Union 7009, Joseph Dugan, Moline, Ill., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 5915, George E. McNeill, 83 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 6617, Charles P. Fahy, 702 Main St., Nashville, Tenn., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 6635, J. V. Smith, 804 East 11th St., Kansas City, Mo., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 6697, Stephen S. Bonbright, 15 Mercer St., Cincinnati, O., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 6808, H. E. Barrett, Middletown, Ind., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 6954, Louis Jahns, Box 1200, Moline, Ill., 13 votes.

Federal Labor Union 6964, John Kirby, Ouray, Colorado, 2 votes.



Federal Labor Union 7010, William A. Losie, Owensboro, Ky., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 7112, John McNulta, South Omaha, Neb., 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union 7151, W. J. Blain, Hutchinson, Kan., 1 vote.

Marine and Stationary Firemen 5626, Peter Brush, Jr., 3506, South Jefferson avenue, St. Louis, Mo., 1 vote.

Stationary Firemen's Union 6406, C. L. Shamp, 720 Coy St., Kansas City, Kan., 1 vote.

Stationary Firemen's Union 6723, Harry W. Bausch, 1047 Newberry St., Toledo, O., 1 vote.

Stationary Firemen's Union 6802, A. H. Plieman, 1838 Penn St., Kansas City, Mo., 1 vote.

Stationary Firemen's Union 7028, Joseph W. Morton, 70 North Paulina St., Chicago, Ill., 1 vote.

Hackmen's Protective Union 6967, Buchanan Keith, 1721 Lake St., Omaha, Neb., 1 vote.

Janitor and Elevator Men's Alliance 7102, Frank Brown, 567 Charlotte St., Kansas City, Mo., 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union 6730, George Henry, Helena, Mont., 1 vote.

Laundry Workers' Union 7095, Michael Dalton, care of C. A. Sharpe, 133 Smith St., Peekskill, N. Y., 1 vote.

Paving Department Workers' Union, 6751, James F. Timility, 10 Cottage place, Roxbury, Mass., 5 votes.

Piano Makers and Piano Varnish Finishers, 7143, Charles Dold, 857 North Irving avenue, Chicago, Ill., 3 votes; protested.

Solar Printers' and Operators' Union 7120, W. C. Morman, 191 Hudson avenue, Chicago, Ill., 1 vote.

Roofers' Union 5774, G. G. Snedegar, 2326 Terrace St., Kansas City, Mo., 1 vote.

Sprinkler Fitters' Union 6087, M. J. O'Neill, 228 West Congress St., Chicago, Ill., 1 vote.

Sprinkler Fitters' Union 6479, P. J. Reynolds, 1000 Grattan St., St. Louis, Mo., 1 vote.

Sprinkler Pine Fitters' and Helpers' Union 6840, Charles F. Sefferien, 409 West 39th St., New York, N. Y., 1 vote.

Stonemasons' Union 7049, David Maher, 813 West 12th St., Kansas City, Mo., 1 vote.

Railway Teamsters' Protective Union 5872, George Innis, Detroit, Mich., 2 votes.

Teamsters' Protective Union 7083, S. E. Simpson, Collinsville, Ill., 1 vote.

Teamsters Union 7135, John Callahan, 1837 Washington St., Kansas City, Mo., 1 vote.

Tin Plate Workers' Union 6008, William O. Moore, 2111 South A St., Elwood, Ind., 2 votes.

Tin Plate Openers' Union 6914, William Stradman, Elwood, Ind., 1 vote.

Patent Machine Tinnners' Union 6047, George Powell, 31 South Front St., New Castle, Pa., 2 votes.

Patent Machine Tinnners' Union 6982, John Romhold, New Castle, Pa., 1 vote.

Tin Plate Workers' Union 6984, Hugh J. Scanlon, 161 Sycamore St., Mount Washington, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1 vote.

Tin Plate Workers' Union 7269, Charles Lawyer, Atlanta, Ind., 1 vote.

Tin Plate Workers' Union 7123, Albert Fox, Gas City, Ind., 1 vote.

Connecticut State Branch, H. C. Shalvey, 1 vote.

Illinois State Branch, Adrian M. Jones, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Branch, John F. O'Sullivan, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Boston, D. D. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Cincinnati, O., J. J. Schmalz, 1 vote.

Federated Trades Assembly, Duluth, W. E. McEwen, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Haverhill, Mass., J. F. Carey, 1 vote.

Industrial Council, Kansas City, Mo., M. F. Bradley, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Lawrence, Mass., A. J. Casey, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Omaha, Neb., M. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Central Trades and Labor Council, St. Louis, Mo., John White, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C., J. F. McCormick, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Louisville, Ky., C. W. Coy, 1 vote.

Trades and Labor Assembly, Kewanee, Ill., George P. Keefer, 1 vote.

Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn., M. J. Noonan, 1 vote.

Central Labor Union, Scranton, Pa., M. D. Flaherty, 1 vote.

Federation of Trades, Atlanta, Ga., William Strauss, 1 vote.

Trades Assembly, Kansas City, Kan., Hugh Curry, 1 vote.

Tri-City Blacksmith's Helpers, J. Dugan, 1 vote.

Teamsters and Drivers, Belleville, Ill., M. Bux, 1 vote.

Fraternal delegates from:

Dominion of Canada Trades Congress, David A. Carey, 1 vote.

British Trade Congress, William Inskip and William Thorn, 2 votes.

The following credentials were protested:

C. Bechtold and J. Zorn, United Brewery Workers' National Union.

P. F. Doyle, Chicago Federation of Labor.

Max S. Hayes, Cleveland Central Labor Union.

M. Donnelly, Omaha Central Labor Union.

Respectfully submitted,

T. F. TRACY, Chairman,

J. F. MULHOLLAND,

HOMER D. CALL, Secretary.

On motion, report of committee was received and delegates seated.

President Gompers, on behalf of the Executive Council, reported that they had considered the grievance of the waiters, and had suggested that each party to the controversy name two members, the Executive Council naming the fifth, forming a board of investigation and arbitration, which should hear both sides of the controversy, each side binding itself to abide by the finding of the board. In conformity with this understanding, J. F. O'Sullivan and T. L. Lewis were selected by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc., and Owen Miller and William E. McEwen by those preferring charges against the National organization and its officers, the Executive Council selecting John C. Dernel as fifth man. The recommendation of the Executive Council was concurred in.

Delegate Dernel moved that the appointment of assistant secretary, messenger and sergeant-at-arms by President Gompers be approved. Carried.

Delegate Mahon moved that the report of the officers be taken up immediately after the reconvening of the convention in the afternoon.

President Gompers appointed the following Committee on Rules:

Committee on Rules or Order of Business—James H. Sullivan, B. E. Perigny, Isaac Cowen, R. Braunschweig, James E. Fitzgerald, Joseph Cahill, Henry S. Mills.

Delegate Duncan moved that the officers submit their report at once. Adopted by a vote of 53 ayes; 42 noes.

President Gompers called Vice-President Duncan to the chair, and then read the following report:

#### PRESIDENT GOMPERS REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Permit me, on behalf of the wage-earners of our country, to extend to you a hearty welcome to this annual convention of the A. F. of L. In extending this welcome in the name of all the wage-earners, I feel confident that I speak by authority. That the organized wage earners are interested in our movement is best shown by their increasing intelligence on behalf of, and activity in, the great cause we have the honor to represent, and the splendid attendance through their representatives at this convention. As for those workers who are not affiliated, we have reason to know that they look expectantly and yearningly to us, in the hope that we may be so guided by wisdom and foresight as to give them the opportunities to organize and partake of that greater freedom and advantage resultant from organization. That they place their hopes in our organization and our movement, is clearly manifested by the appeals which they invariably make to us whenever they are involved in any conflict.

The men who think clearly and generate their thoughts into action, who protest against injustice and wrong in any and every form; the men whose hours are too long and those workless workers; those who have watched the great development of industry and concentration of wealth, who have seen the invention and development of machinery and the application of the forces of steam and electricity to industry and commerce; the overburdened workingwomen and the children of the poor, often dragged into the factory and workshop when they should be in the home, the schoolroom and the playground; every lover of justice and right, every philanthropist, all have their eyes riveted upon the work of this convention. The hopes of all are aroused that the great work of labor reform and labor's emancipation may receive an impetus and an advance, and that the dawn of a brighter day may appear, for which the hopes and struggles of humanity have been nurtured and undertaken from time immemorial; in their name—in the name of all—I bid you welcome.

The law requires your President to give a resume of the work of the year in his report. How impossible that is, no one realizes better than myself. A thousand and one incidents arise requiring constant attention, which cannot be collated, reported upon or even referred to without making this report so voluminous that its length would render its reading impracticable or nearly impossible. Only a few of the more important matters are therefore recorded here. To the worker in and the student of our movement, the correspondence and our publications would prove of vital interest. A number of the details connected with our movement is contained in the Executive Council's report.

#### TRADE UNIONS—THEIR PHILOSOPHY.

In the early days of our movement we had a declaration in our organization that defense of trade unions was unnecessary. In this declaration we were supported by the historic development of the labor movement, justified by all laws of natural growth, by industrial, economic and social conditions. Though there is no alteration requiring a modification of our attitude, in so far as the unquestionable basis of the trade unions is concerned, certain elements have arisen, and taken our failure to defend the trade unions as a confession of the untenableness of trade unions and trade union action. It is true that the work, the onward march, the progress, the success attending our movement, are in themselves a defense; yet our silence has been interpreted as a confession of weakness.

The trade unions are the legitimate outgrowth of modern society and industrial conditions, They are not the creation of any man's brains. They are organizations of necessity. They were born of the necessity of the workers to protect and defend themselves from encroachment, injustice and wrong. They are the organizations of the working class, for the working class, by the working class; grappling with economic and social problems as they arise, dealing with them in a practical manner to the end that a solution commensurate with the interests of all may be attained.

From hand labor in the home to machine and factory labor witnessed the transition from the trade guilds to the trade unions; with the concentration of wealth and the development of industry, the growth from the local to the National and the International unions, and the closer affiliation of all in a broad and comprehensive federation.

There are some who, dissatisfied with what they term the slow progress of the labor movement would have us hasten it by what they lead themselves to believe is a shorter route. No intelligent workman who has passed years of his life in the study of the labor problem, expects to wake up any fine morning to find the hopes of these years realized over night, and the world on the flood-tide of the millennium. With the knowledge that the past tells us of the slow progress of

the ages, of trial and travail, mistakes and doubts yet unsolved; with the history of the working class bedewed with the tears of a thousand generations and tinged with the life-blood of the numberless martyrs, the trade unionist is not likely to stake his future hopes on the fond chance of the many millions turning philosophers in the twinkling of an eye.

Much of our misery as enforced wage-workers springs, not so much from any power exerted by the "upper" or ruling class, as it is the result of the ignorance of so many in our own class who accept conditions by their own volition. The more intelligent, realizing their inability to create a millennium, will not descend to trickery or juggling with terms. They seek to benefit themselves and their fellow men through trade unions and trade union action, and by bearing the brunt, be in the vanguard in the cause, and hasten on the process of education that will fit humanity even to recognize the millennium when it arrives.

Each ism has stood but as an evanescent and iridescent dream of poor humanity groping blindly in the dark for its ideal; and it has caused many a heart-wrench to relegate some idealism to movements which do not move, to the dead ashes of blasted hopes and promises.

Throughout all these dreams and hopes and fears and attacks, vituperation and misrepresentation, the trade unionists have plodded along their weary way since the miner of Laurium, three thousand years ago, laid down his pick; and, though phantasmagorias and dreams have lived and died, the wage-earners, with pick and shovel, with hammer and saw and plane, with hands on the lever of the highest developed machines, kept, and keeps, organizing and plodding along toward better conditions of life.

The trade unions not only discuss economics and social problems, but deal with them in a practical fashion calculated to bring about better conditions of life today, and thus fit the workers for the greater struggles for amelioration and emancipation yet to come.

No one having any conception of the labor problems—the struggles of life—would for a moment entertain the notion, much less advise the workers, to abstain from the exercise of their political rights and their political power. On the contrary, trade union action upon the surface is economic action, yet there is no action which the trade unions can take but which in its effect is political.

But, in the exercise of the political power of the workers, that is, the casting of the ballot, we are sometimes urged to throw to the winds the experience and the tangible results of ages, and to hazard the interests of labor in a new era of political partisanship.

We want legislation in the interest of labor; we want legislation executed by labor men; we want trade unionists in Congress and more trade unionists in the state legislatures, in our municipal councils and in our executive offices; we want trade unionists on the magisterial benches, and those convinced of the justice of our cause, with the courage of their convictions, in the highest offices of our land. We shall secure them, too, by acting as trade unionists rather than turning our trade unions into partisan ward clubs.

Our movement is of the wage-earning class, recognizing that class interests, that class advancement, that class progress is best made by working class trade union action. That we receive the co-operation of others, goes without saying; but it is only as the trade unions grow in numbers, in power and in intelligence, shall we disenthrall the minds and freedom of action of sympathizers with our cause, who gladly await the hour to place the best sheaves of their laurels of learning at the feet of the advancing hosts of organized labor.

Spencer has said that it has always been the remnant in society which has saved it from reaction of barbarism. To-day modern society is beginning to realize that trades unions are the only hope of our civilization and to regard them as the only power whose mission is to evolve order out of our social chaos to save us from reaction, brutality and perhaps barbarism. Our progress may be slow, yet it is the fastest, the safest and best evolved from the human mind; and even in its present form, is the germ of a future state which all will hail with glad acclaim. Then to nurture it, to concentrate our energies in order that its progress may be sure that its advancement may be unimpeded, that its development may be unrestricted and its success unimpaired, is the duty of every intelligent worker, every lover of the human race.

The toilers of our country look to you to devise the ways and means by which a more thorough organization of the wage earners may be accomplished, and to save our children in their infancy from being forced into the maelstrom of wage slavery. Let us see to it that they are not dwarfed in body and mind, or brought to a premature death by early drudgery, to give them the sunshine of the school room and play ground instead of the factory and the workshop. To protect the workers in their inalienable rights to a higher and better life; to protect them, not only as equals before the law, but also in their rights to the product of their labor; to protect their lives, their limbs, their health, their homes, their firesides, their liberties as men, as workers, and as citizens; to overcome and conquer prejudice and antagonism; to secure to them the right to life, and the opportunity to maintain that life; the right to be full sharers in the abundance which is the result of their brain and brawn, and the civilization of which they are the founders and the mainstay; to this the workers are entitled beyond the cavil of a doubt. With nothing less ought they, or will they, be satisfied. The attainment of these is the glorious mission of the trades unions. No higher or nobler mission ever fell to the lot of a people than that committed to the working class—a class of which we have the honor to be members.

#### GROWTH OF UNIONISM AND FEDERATION.

It is a matter for genuine gratification that, notwithstanding public interest during the past year has been centered upon the war with Spain, organization of the workers has not lagged. During the year 203 charters were issued directly from the American Federation of Labor. Of this number nine were granted to National and International unions, as follows: Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' and Helpers' International Union; Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Wood Carvers' Association of North America; Window Glass Flatteners' Association of North America; Window Glass Cutters' League of America; Amalgamated Society of Engi-

neers; National Steel and Copper Plate Printers of the United States; Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union of America. Twelve charters were issued to the following city central bodies: Sacramento, Cal.; Memphis, Tenn.; Galveston, Tex.; Lowell, Mass.; Fairmount, Ind.; Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.; Collinsville, Ill.; Atlanta, Ga.; Bay City, Mich.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Port Huron, Mich.; Elgin, Ill. And 182 charters to local trade unions and Federal Labor Unions.

There are now in direct affiliation with the A. F. of L.:

National and International unions (with 10,500 local unions attached).....	67
State Federations.....	10
City Central labor unions and trades assemblies.....	82
Local trade unions (having no Nationals).....	315
Federal Labor unions.....	109

Fifty affiliated Nationals report 527 charters granted to local unions, and our organizers report that they have organized and secured charters from other National and International unions for 150 local unions during the past year. These figures, which do not complete the field, show 880 local unions organized and chartered during the year.

It is an attestation of the better conception and performance of our duties that to-day we have a larger number of National and International unions than have ever before existed in our country, and that the trade unions are growing day by day. Your attention is invited to the figures regarding the organization of labor in an article contributed by J. W. Sullivan in the current issue of the *American Federationist*.

Efforts were made to organize a number of National unions from among the Tin Plate Workers, Stationary Firemen, Laundry Workers' and Teamsters' and Drivers' unions. Delegates from two of these branches of trade are at present in this city, with the purpose of bringing such National unions into existence.

It is regrettable that there are still some National trade unions unaffiliated with the A. F. of L. Among the number are the various brotherhoods and orders of steam railroad employees, the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers. The hope was entertained that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen would have been the first among the steam railroad employees' organizations to become affiliated, and thus lead the van and give encouragement to the other brotherhoods and orders to follow in their wake. John P. Lennon attended the convention of the Bricklayers and Masons, but he was unable to persuade the convention to favorable action. The Sheet Metal Workers were once affiliated, and there is nothing now standing against their again allying themselves with our Federation. I recommend that the incoming officers renew their efforts to secure the affiliation of all *bona fide* organizations of labor, and that, if expedient, representatives meet with the officers of the organizations referred to, and attend their conventions, with the view of attaining the result so much to be desired and so calculated to advance the interests of all labor.

#### WITHDRAWAL DEFEATED.

During the year two of our affiliated National organizations—the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Typographical Union—voted upon propositions to withdraw from the A. F. of L. In the former at its convention, but five votes were recorded in its favor; in the latter, by referendum vote, the proposition was overwhelmingly negated. During the pendency of these propositions, however, they were hailed with considerable glee by those opposed to the integrity and solidarity of our movement, and who entertained the hope that the disintegration of the federated trade union of America had set in. We are all aware that our Federation has not reached a state of perfection. Who among us as individuals, much less as local, national, or international unions, has reached that stage? Trade unionists regard it as morally wrong for any wage-earner to leave the union of his trade, or a local union to leave its national; and if this position be true, then it is equally morally wrong for any organization to hold aloof or to withdraw from the family of trade unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. If we realize that improvements are necessary in our local or National unions, or in our Federation, it becomes our duty to endeavor to persuade our fellows to our better thought; but to withdraw from our unions or from our Federation is tantamount to dividing our forces in the face of the enemy; of a military regiment resolving upon disbanding upon a declaration of war. The determination of the organizations to remain in full fellowship, to endeavor to strengthen and improve the Federation as consistently and as speedily as time, opportunity and circumstances admit, is the best evidence of the potency and growing intelligence of our fellow unionists, and will contribute much toward solidifying the ranks of labor.

#### LOCAL TRADE UNIONS.

As this report indicates, there are 315 local trade unions unattached to National or International unions, but directly affiliate with us, and in all matters affecting their trade interests, disputes and adjustments, they hold the same relative position to the officers of the American Federation of Labor as do the local unions of our affiliated National and International. Their affairs require constant care and attention, and it is with a great deal of satisfaction that I am enabled to report substantial progress gained by these unions, often by their own action, and still more so by the co-operation of the officers of our Federation. Many of them have been brought into existence out of

#### OUR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

As will be observed, we have 109 Federal Labor Unions, several of them numbering between 500 and 2,500 members. These unions have performed excellent work in the interest of their members, and have often proven valuable adjuncts to our movement. It is the constant aim to

form trade unions from among those members who follow one trade or occupation, and greater success in this work along this line was achieved during the past year than formerly. There is a better appreciation of our purpose in the formation of Federal Labor Unions; that in the splendid work they are doing to advance the interest of their members and labor in general they shall also be the recruiting stations of the trade unions.

In a previous report, attention was called to the difficulty which is experienced by reason of the false notions which some of our Federal Labor Unions entertain regarding the character of their membership. It is not an easy matter to convince many of them that it is essential to their permanency and success, as well as to that of the entire movement, that their membership shall consist of wage-earners exclusively. Some business men, moved by sympathy, and perhaps more often by business tact; some politicians, scenting an opportunity for popularity, often make professions of profound sympathy with the labor movement; and the experience of some of our Federal Labor Unions leads them to disregard the lessons which have been dearly paid for, and admit to membership persons entirely ineligible. Whenever such a state of affairs has existed and been made known to headquarters, the defect was sought to be remedied. In some instances, however, the unions influenced and controlled by the element referred to have refused to comply with the laws of the A. F. of L., and their charters were revoked.

It is not amiss to say that we do not necessarily regard every business man or every politician as the enemy of our organization or of our movement; but, in the conduct of the affairs of our organization, we insist upon considering and determining our course without let or hindrance, or influence of any character outside of that judgment which we ourselves form. If others than wage-earners have any true interest in, and sympathy with, the progress and success of the labor movement, they may give it all the encouragement and aid they can; but they will best attest the sincerity of their motives by abstaining from any effort to influence our councils or control our actions within the precincts of the meeting room of our organizations.

#### SECTIONAL DIVISION HURTFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL.

Attention was called in the report last year to what threatened to be a division of the labor movement upon sectional lines. A convention was called with that purpose in view, and but one organization theretofore affiliated with the A. F. of L.—the Western Federation of Miners—gave it countenance. A few local organizations of the far west sent delegates, but found themselves overwhelmed in numbers by the delegates from the miners. It is a tribute to the intelligence and principle of our fellow-unionists of the west that they have, with very few exceptions, declared their purpose to maintain the unity and solidarity of our movement, regardless of geographic lines. The enemies of our cause do not permit local prejudice or pride to interfere with whatever may promote their interests; they are not only combined in their interest, but too often in their international interests. It seems that the workers should certainly not fail to realize how important is the recognition by them that only by unity and solidarity is there is any hope for protection and progress now and freedom and justice in the future. It is not too much to entertain the hope that the Western Federation of Miners will soon conclude that the best interests of labor can be subserved by their affiliation with our movement, and we should exert themselves to convince them of that fact, and take every action within our power to persuade them to conform to it.

#### GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALITY.

With the view of a closer bond of sympathy and unity among the organized workers of the different countries, correspondence with many of them has been maintained, and entered into with a number of others. We should endeavor by every means within our power to cultivate fraternal feeling and interest in the welfare of the wage-earners of all countries, to aid and encourage every movement calculated to materially, morally, and socially improve the conditions of the workers, no matter where they may be located, and particularly to lend that aid which may be in our power to those who show a disposition to stand upon the common polity of our movement.

From the officers of our affiliated unions come the satisfactory reports that they are in closer touch with their fellow trade unionists everywhere; and it is additionally gratifying that the mutual recognition, exchange, and acceptance of union cards is being adopted internationally.

With each step taken in the direction to cement the bond of fraternity and the recognition of the principle of solidarity in the international labor movement, we shall not only help to bear each other's burdens, but continually make those burdens lighter, and be the lever for that international brotherhood of man when the wars of nations shall be a thing of the past, and the song of the poet, the dream of the philosopher, and the hope of the philanthropist and humanitarian be achieved.

Our fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, James Duncan and Harry Lloyd, report that the greetings which they received at the hands of their fellow trade unionists abroad were of a marked, generous and gratifying character. Their report, a most interesting document will be submitted to you. We have with us to-day the returned fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress to our convention, William Inskip and William Thorn, men who have given the best years of their lives to the organization of the workers and the uplifting of the masses of labor.

For the first time, the convention last year elected a fraternal delegate to the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada, Thomas I. Kidd, who, too, reports the cordiality of his greeting, and the interest in his mission. Our Canadian fellow unionists have honored us by electing a delegate to attend this convention in the person of D. A. Carey. It should require no words at my hands that our fraternal delegates are heartily welcome; that their stay among us may be full of interest to them and of advantage to our common cause.

## TEXTILE WORKERS' STRIKES.

While the convention at Nashville was still in session, it was announced that the textile manufacturers of New England were about to order a reduction of wages, and, in compliance with the general wish then prevailing, the officers were instructed to render every service within their power to the textile operatives, should the reduction be insisted upon, and an effort made to resist its enforcement. Upon the time declared, the reduction was made and the situation made more acute by the textile workers of Fall River accepting the reduction without protest. This encouraged the other textile manufacturers of New England to insist upon a like reduction, and made resistance on the part of their employees much more difficult. The New Bedford operatives struck work. The officers of the Cotton Mule Spinners' National Association and the National Union of Textile Workers of America appealed to the Executive Council for such assistance as could be rendered. Two organizers were appointed for the purpose of organizing the textile workers and otherwise aiding them to the best of their ability. By direction of the Executive Council, your President went into the district and counseled with the representatives of the operatives, delivering public addresses with a view to encouraging and organizing them. I called and had a conference with more than thirty representatives of the labor movement of New England, and issued another call for the purpose of laying the basis for a more general organization of the textile workers, and the means by which funds could be collected to aid them in their contest.

The report is made to you with regret that the strike failed in its purpose; but to no one familiar with the circumstances and conditions could any other result have been secured. As already stated, the Fall River operatives had accepted the reduction. This had a dampening effect upon the operatives of New Bedford, and gave a corresponding element of strength to their employers. Then, again, the operatives of New Bedford, other than the cotton mule spinners, were comparatively unorganized; and those that were organized were in a so-called local independent union, having neither connection with the Textile Workers National Union nor with the A. F. of L.

Apart from this, persons presuming to speak as friends of labor, carrying with them a halo which they don at convenient periods in order to give themselves the appearance of sanctity, wisdom and honesty, the representatives of the Socialist Political Party went to New Bedford on repeated occasions, and, in fact, kept one of its representatives at New Bedford during a long period of the strike, held daily meetings with but one particular, avowed purpose in mind, the spread of dissatisfaction and discouragement among the strikers, exultingly predicting defeat, hoping and working to accomplish that end, throwing every obstacle in the way of those who were endeavoring to make the best struggle possible, using the same arguments as the employers, indulging in the most malicious misrepresentations of the motives of the men who were aiding the contestants, and cunningly sought to create suspicion of the motives and work of trade unionists. No wonder, then, that what was at best a difficult battle to fight was made additionally burdensome and hopeless through such rank treachery to the cause of labor.

Notwithstanding the fact that none of the striking textile workers, other than the mule spinners were attached to any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L., appeals for financial assistance were issued broadcast; committees were furnished with credentials without which they admitted they were unable to secure entrance into the meetings of unions; many thousands of dollars were contributed by our fellow-unionists in support of the strike, not one cent of which was even accepted by our affiliated striking mule spinners. Every dollar contributed in support of that strike went to those who were not affiliated with the A. F. of L. It was only after the weavers and other branches of the trade, seeing imminent defeat, and unable to longer continue the battle, gave up the contest, that an appeal for our mule spinners was issued. Of course, in the minds of our fellow-unionists the strike had already been lost, and the financial support for the mule spinners was comparatively insignificant, so that finally they, too, yielded.

No better argument was ever presented for the necessity for National unions than the object lesson in the textile workers' strike. The reduction offered was to be general. The operatives of each locality acted independently of the other, and not always in the most fraternal or helpful spirit, and certainly did not contribute financially as they should have and would have done had they been organized in a thorough, compact and intelligent National union. A National union special convention, or perhaps the executive officers, might have determined upon either of the following courses: first, that a general strike be undertaken in all places to resist the reduction, and thus cut off the means of supplying the market with the product; second, that one great center be selected to resist the reduction, and all others to financially and morally support those engaged in the contest; A concentrated and systematized effort could and would have been made to secure the financial assistance so necessary to success. A National union, too, would have provided for the accumulation of a fund at the time of industrial tranquillity to be available in event of any encroachment upon their rights. At no time was it more clearly demonstrated that preparation in time of peace is the best means of maintaining peace, or to secure fair conditions as the result of battle.

Even as the contest was by reason of lack of organization and preparation on the part of the textile workers, yet the contest itself has had a salutary effect. For years and years the condition of the textile workers has deteriorated. The employers have come to look upon them as docile and willing to submit to any conditions which might be imposed. Reduction after reduction of wages was the invariable rule with each recurring season. The strike at New Bedford made the victory of the employers an expensive one. It taught them the lesson that there is a limit beyond which the workers will not yield without a struggle. It has effectually stopped reductions; and if the textile workers will but organize in their union upon a common-sense basis for their protection and advance, there can be no question but a turn in the tide is at hand.

The textile workers of Augusta, Ga., and several other points are on strike; and to-day a better spirit of organization among the textile workers of the south prevails than at any time heretofore. It seems the part of wisdom that this convention should authorize the appointment



or organizers to the full extent of its financial ability to bring about the organization of the textile workers of the south so that they may reap larger advantages of their labor, which is their due, and thus prevent their isolated condition from becoming a constant menace to the textile workers of the rest of the country, and incidentally to all labor.

#### WOOD WORKERS.

The strike of the five thousand wood workers at Oshkosh was a manly and gallant fight. For years conditions in that city have been a clog to the wheels of progress of the wood workers of the country. The agreement reached did not result in much gain for the strikers, but some increase has been secured, their organization recognized, and the opportunity for advancement so much the better. During the strike its general secretary, Mr. Kidd, and a few of his colleagues, were indicted for conspiracy at the instance of one of the large employers there; but after a prolonged trial, honorably acquitted. The verdict upholds the right of labor when on strike to picket an establishment, and by peaceful methods endeavor to dissuade other workers from taking the places of men on strike.

#### WIRE DRAWERS' STRIKE.

The strike of the wire drawers of Cleveland, in which two thousand men were engaged, after a lengthy contest, was defeated. Under most adverse circumstances, they made a hard contest, which will unquestionably have a beneficial effect upon the trade. The injunction granted by Judge Hammond prohibited the officers engaged in the conduct of the strike from performing many of the duties so necessary in a struggle of this character, and it certainly contributed toward the loss of the strike. After the contest was declared off, the companies acted in a fairer spirit than is usually the case in a defeated strike. It is a matter of regret that the organization of the men is not in a position to enlist the services of an executive officer who can devote his entire time to the organization of the men and the upbuilding of the institution; for the strike opens up opportunities for a more thorough organization of the men, and with it an improvement in their condition. I recommend that the incoming Executive Council be empowered to render whatever financial, personal, and moral assistance which may lie in their power to help bring about a thorough organization of the trade.

#### SHOE WORKERS' STRIKE.

The boot and shoe workers of Marlboro, to the number of 5,000, are now engaged in a strike for the maintenance of union shops against the attempt of the manufacturers to operate so-called free shops, with the reduction of wages and poorer conditions which this euphonious term, but false principle, implies. The Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union is rendering the strikers all the aid within its power, and organized labor is rendering considerable assistance, and the hope and expectation are entertained that victory will crown their efforts.

#### MINERS' STRIKE.—PITTSBURG, PANAMA, VIRDEN.

As a result of the strike of the United Mine Workers last year, an agreement was reached by the United Mine Workers and the operators for a minimum scale of 67 cents per ton, an increase of nearly 33 per cent, and the enforcement of the eight-hour work day, as well as the abolition of the companies' stores and other onerous conditions. A few mine operators in the Pittsburgh district, in Panama and Virden, Ill., sought to break the agreement, and thus, if successful, undermine and destroy the achievements which all have hailed so gladly as the end of that misery which was the lot of the miners for the past decade.

In the Pittsburgh district, the same element which so treacherously antagonized the textile workers at New Bedford made its appearance on the scene, and sought by every device in its power to defeat the miners in their effort to maintain the scale and the agreement. Fortunately for labor, the miners, made of sterner stuff, soon put an effective stoppage upon the evil designs.

At Panama and Virden the operators sought to break the agreement and the strike which was inaugurated to maintain it, by importing a horde of ex-convicts, negro cheap laborers from Alabama, placing them under an armed guard of Pinkerton thugs and hirelings. That bloodshed will ensue when an ignorant mass of men is armed and is to do the bidding of characterless men, the merest tyro in the affairs of life can foresee. That many were killed and wounded is a matter of too recent history to require repetition here. The chief executive of Illinois, Governor Tanner, recognized that a band of men armed was contrary to the laws of the state, forbade the entrance of others, and finally, appreciating the strained condition of affairs, declared martial law and insisted upon the disarmament of all.

As a result of the organization of the miners and the justice of the cause, the agreement of last year at Virden has been renewed, and advices are that Panama will soon follow suit. The miners have seen their worst days, and henceforth will not be the supplicants for charity to assuage their misery, but will go onward and forward, standing abreast with the organized wage-earners of our country.

#### BRITISH ENGINEERS.

Pursuant to instructions, \$500 was appropriated from our funds in aid of the locked-out engineers of Great Britain, and a total contribution from other sources, amounting to about \$11,144, was transmitted from the workers of the United States. Although the engineers were not successful in contending for the enforcement of the eight-hour day, it is a matter of gratification that the report of the secretary shows a larger membership, with an ever-increasing fund at the command of the organization. Who knows but that history may repeat itself? The Amalgamated Society of Engineers about twenty years ago, after a strike of seventeen months,

was defeated in the effort to inaugurate the nine-hour day; yet within a year after the defeat that beneficent measure was established. It is not anticipating too much that the same result will follow their late contest, and that the eight-hour day may be soon ushered in.

#### NO DUALITY—GREATER FEDERATION.

As a result of the engineers' strike of Great Britain, combination and amalgamation of union with union and closer federation of all, is the one point to which the labor movement there is at present directed, and duality of organization in one trade, so long prevailing in Great Britain, is fast passing away. Our declaration that no two organizations of one trade, claiming equal jurisdiction, can co-exist without conflict and injury, the principle long ago recognized and established of one union of one trade has been taken as a slogan of the labor movement of Great Britain, and we shall soon see a solidified army of labor there upon the most perfect lines to achieve success.

And this state of affairs teaches us a lesson, too; that in struggling for the upbuilding of National and International trade unionism, and also for maintaining the integrity and entity of the trade union, and with the development of industry and the concentration of wealth, it becomes the bounden duty of our trade unions to not only morally but financially concentrate their efforts in a battle of offense or defense when any allied organization is engaged in conflict.

#### DEFENSE FUND.

Year after year I have, in my official reports, as well as at every opportunity which presented itself, sought to impress upon our fellow-workers the necessity of building up a fund for their own protection. One of the most disastrous features in connection with any strike, contemplated or pending, is the necessity for an immediate appeal for voluntary contributions. It is of doubtful utility at best, since it at once is a declaration of the financial weakness of the workers.

It may be true that the organizations which are financially weakest at present may for some time be those which will make the greatest calls upon a defense fund; but it must be obvious to all that in the same measure that we shall improve the condition of the comparatively lowest paid worker, we necessarily correspondingly accomplish greater results in the material condition of those better situated. Unless those who are comparatively the better conditioned are willing to contribute something in the shape of dues for the material improvement of those who are poorer paid, we shall suffer either in the deterioration of our condition, or be prevented from gaining such advantages which are our due.

A proposition has been submitted in the program to which attention is especially invited. It may not meet all the requirements, but there is sufficient merit in it to command your careful, and I trust, favorable consideration.

#### SUCCESSES WITH AND WITHOUT STRIKES.

These form the notable strikes of the year—notable because they have commanded public attention and have been heralded broadcast by reason of the fact that they were not all successful in obtaining the purposes for which they were inaugurated. They do not tell the tale of the strikes which were won, and particularly those which were averted by the employers conceding the demands of our organizations.

Following the practice of years, we issued statistical blanks and obtained data from the officers of our affiliated unions. From these reports (incorporated in the Secretary's report), will be gleaned the fact that with but few exceptions, that is, nearly all reported herein, that substantial increase in wages and reduction in hours of labor have been the rule along the whole line of the labor movement of our country. With more unions forming and greater unity among them, there can be no doubt that defeats will become fewer, the successes more and the advantages greater.

#### CENTRAL BODIES.

In our constitution a peculiar anomaly is presented. Central labor unions, trades assemblies and state federations are chartered and required to pay an annual tax of \$10. Should they desire to avail themselves, however, of representation at our conventions, an additional \$10 is charged. These central bodies should be given the right of representation upon payment of their tax without any penalty provision.

#### ORGANIZERS.

The last convention authorized the appointment of organizers for the inter-mountain country of the West. This subject was discussed at length by your Executive Council, and arrangements were about to be made to carry this into effect. About this time, however, the great public excitement regarding the prospect of war was so overpowering that it was deemed inexpedient, and that the large outlay which organizers would necessarily entail would bring little, if any, tangible results. To this must be added the fact that the extra efforts made to secure favorable action or progress upon the legislation demanded at the hands of Congress entailed an unusually large expense. Reference to our monthly financial reports will indicate that the organizations had, to a large extent, husbanded their resources and deferred their payments until the last months of the year. From the present financial condition, it is evident that the incoming officers may have the better facilities to comply with your decision and instruction to send one or more organizers or representatives through the inter-mountain country.

As already reported, our 431 voluntary organizers have been exceedingly active and attentive in furthering the interests of organization. By reason of the revocation of the commissions



to the organizers last year, those who were inactive and indifferent, or whose course was not entirely satisfactory, were eliminated. It is but faint praise of the splendid representatives of our movement—our organizers—to say—that they have, at great self-sacrifice voluntarily assumed and carried the banner and the hope of labor into former dark recesses of despair, and helped thousands upon thousands of our fellow-toilers to unite, and by that unity help themselves and each other in forming stronger links in the chain of the organizations of labor of our country. Our movement can never fully repay our organizers for their splendid work. Convinced of the justice of our cause, impelled by an earnest craving to do their part in the struggles of life, our organizers are among the first in the vanguard, the pioneers of most of our organizations.

#### EIGHT HOUR WORK-DAY.

It was expected that the International Association of Machinists would have made some move forward in the spring of this year for the establishment of the eight-hour workday. The officers of the organization referred the matter to a vote of the membership; and, according to the officers' reports, the indifference displayed, as manifested by the vote, was too apparent to admit of the organization's undertaking the move. Beyond doubt, the abandonment of the effort was caused by the reasons assigned, and that it was largely influenced by the result of the British Engineers' strike, as well as by the impending war with Spain. Notwithstanding this fact, however, a number of machinists, as well as other unions, secured a reduction in the hours of labor. (See statistics in Secretary's Report.)

Should industrial conditions warrant, it is suggested that every effort be made by the incoming officers in co-operation with the trade union movement of the country, to inaugurate a general agitation and movement for the more universal introduction of the eight-hour, or shorter hour workday.

#### UNION LABEL AGITATION.

The last convention directed that the President devise a systematic method for the agitation of the labels of all our affiliated unions, as well as that of the A. F. of L. itself. In compliance therewith, we have had matrices made of the union labels, and furnished them to a large number of labor papers which have voluntarily and gratuitously published them. This system of agitation and advertisement has been productive of great good. Apart from this, we have encouraged the organization of the union label leagues as auxiliaries to the local central bodies. Then again, sympathizers with our movement have been requested to form, and have formed, consumers' leagues and union label leagues, these more particularly of the wives and daughters of union members. Apart from this, too, men in sympathy with our movement have had printed bulletins upon a cardboard, reproducing in their original colors all the union labels endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. It is believed that work along this line, receiving greater encouragement from our affiliated unions, will undoubtedly be productive of greater results as time goes on; that the work has been well done is evidenced by the greater demand and use of union label products. Many great establishments, which formerly would have looked with abhorrence upon the idea of placing a union label on their product, have within the past year become not only union factories, but also adorned their product with the union label.

#### EIGHT HOUR BILL.

As reported to the last convention, the Chairman of the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives, Hon. John J. Gardiner, suggested new lines upon which a bill could be drawn which would compel the enforcement of the eight-hour workday by department officers, whether that work was done by or for the Government direct, or by contractors or sub-contractors. The consent of the convention was asked that if a bill could be drawn upon the lines suggested, after obtaining legal advice, the Executive Council should have power to approve it, and our efforts to amend the eight-hour law upon the lines heretofore determined, be discontinued.

A number of conferences were held by Vice-Presidents McGuire and Duncan, your President and the Legislative Committee with Chairman Gardiner, and the bill was finally drawn up, submitted to the full Committee on Labor, before which your Legislative Committee and the parties named appeared, and the bill (H. R. 7389) reported favorably by the Committee on Labor to the House of Representatives on April 4. Your attention is called to the able report of the committee published in the *American Federationist* of May, 1898.

The bill was amended in the House, suspending the provisions of the bill in cases of extraordinary emergency, such as "public, military or naval works or defenses in time of war," and, in this form, passed the House without opposition on May 17.

The bill came before the Senate, and was referred to its Committee on Education and Labor. As soon as the draft of the bill had been agreed upon and introduced in the House, a committee consisting of Mr. Furuseth, Mr. Chance, Secretary Morrison and the writer, called upon Senator Kyle, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, with a view of having him introduce the bill in the Senate and become its advocate, to which he cordially agreed. The bill was introduced by him, and referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Two public hearings, March 1 and March 8, were held, when the committee passed the resolution that "the next meeting of the committee be an executive session, and then a vote be taken upon the bill." There was no doubt in the minds of those who were present that when the hearing closed the impression prevailed that the committee would report the bill favorably at its next meeting. Instead of the next meeting of the committee being an executive session, in which the bill was to be voted upon, the greatest difficulty was experienced in securing a meeting of the committee. The Legislative Committee, Messrs. Furuseth and Chance, in their report upon this subject say:

"Your committee found it extremely difficult to secure a meeting of the Senate Committee to consider the bill. Owing to the importuning of various members of the committee and the chairman, Senator Kyle, a meeting was called for June 16, at which were present representatives of various manufacturing interests: Hon. Jos. K. McCammon, of Washington, D. C., attorney for the Cramp, Bethlehem and Carnegie Companies; Mr. Charles H. Cramp, president of the William Cramp & Sons' Ship and Engine Building Company; Robert P. Linderman, president, and R. W. Davenport, second vice-president, of the Bethlehem Iron Company; Mr. Corey, general superintendent of the Carnegie Works, and Messrs. Gayley and Stone of the same company; Hon. Louis E. Payson, attorney of the Newport News Ship Building and Dry Dock Company; Hon. Anthony Higgins, of Delaware, representing the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company, and the Pusey & Jones Company of Wilmington, Del.; Mr. R. G. Morse, of the former company, and Mr. C. W. Pusey, of the latter, and Mr. J. G. Andrews, of the Bath Iron Company, and others.

"Among those present in advocacy of the bill were Samuel Compers, President of the A. F. of L.; James Duncan, second vice-president of the A. F. of L.; P. J. McGuire, first vice-president of the A. F. of L.; George Chance, of Philadelphia, of the International Typographical Union; Milford Spohn, ex-president of the Washington Central Labor Union, and a number of others.

"The report of this committee was not ordered printed until June 23d, and copies of the same were not received by your committee until June 25. It was impossible to secure a meeting of the committee until June 29, at which time the bill was reported with amendments, but without recommendation. The amendments added the emergency and war clause to the second section, and further amended the fourth section so as not to apply 'to the transportation of mails, merchandise, or passengers, or to any common carrier in any way.' Your committee discovered an evident determination upon the part of certain members of the committee, including the chairman, to prevent, if possible, the consideration of the bill at this session. These efforts were successful, although Senator Cannon, of Utah, who was given charge of the bill at the solicitation of your committee, made several attempts to bring the bill up in the closing days of the session. On Wednesday, July 6, Mr. Cannon moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill. It was objected to by Mr. Davis, and the motion was lost by a vote of 18 to 29.

"It is but fair to say that the motion would have resulted in laying aside temporarily the joint resolution for the annexation of Hawaii, which was the preferred business at the time. The statement was made by Senator Platt, of Connecticut, that it would 'certainly excite a good deal of discussion.' Senator Cannon made another unsuccessful attempt to bring the bill up the same evening, but was precluded by a motion of Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, to go into executive session. The Congress adjourned the following day at 2 p. m., after Senator Cannon had again urged the consideration of the bill. Your committee are satisfied that when the bill shall come before the Senate it will be passed by that body, notwithstanding the apparent powerful opposition to it. It has been powerful enough to prevent its consideration during the closing hours of this session, but will be unable to prevent its final passage early in the next session."

Your attention is called to printed report of the hearing before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, June 16, upon our eight-hour bill, at which representatives of various large iron and steel and ship building companies, with their attorneys, were present to oppose its favorable report and passage. The hearing was intended to be exclusively for the opposition to the bill, and it was through no courtesy or consideration of Chairman Kyle that Brothers Duncan, McGuire, Chance, Spohn, your President, and a number of others were heard that day. The pompous attorneys, feeling so safe in their opposition, challenged the representatives of labor to make a statement in their presence. It was accepted, and it can be stated with some satisfaction that the opponents were confused and confounded at every point. Inadvertently, Mr. Cramp, of the Cramp shipyards, bore out one of the main contentions of labor; he asserted that notwithstanding that the workers in the shipyards of France worked eleven or twelve hours per day, and the workmen in the shipyards of the United States nine or ten, while French shipbuilders offered to build warships for Russia in five years. Mr. Cramp had contracted to build the vessels in one-half the time; that notwithstanding wages are higher in the United States than in France, French shipbuilders wanted more money to build the Russian war vessels than the Cramp Company had agreed to deliver them.

This hearing is of such interest that we should request the Senate to print a large number of the reports for general distribution.

Our eight-hour bill, now pending in the Senate, is in a position to be called up at any opportune time; and it was therefore deemed the part of wisdom to have the legislative committee in attendance at the Capitol, where they have been since Congress convened.

#### EIGHT-HOUR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Regarding the instruction to urge the passage by Congress of a resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States, empowering Congress to limit the hours of labor. Such a resolution was introduced by Congressman Lovering, of Massachusetts. Hearings were had before the House Judiciary Committee, at which Secretary Ross, of the Cotton Mule Spinners National Association, and other representative textile workers, and your Legislative Committee and President appeared. The hearing aroused very much interest, but thus far the Judiciary Committee has not reported upon the measure.

In the matter of the work performed to secure the amendment to the eight-hour law (H. R. 7389,) already referred to in this report, mention is made of the obstacles which were placed in the way of its enactment. It was painfully manifest that several Representatives and Senators, who were outspoken in favor of a constitutional amendment, were conspicuous in their

antagonism or indifference to our eight-hour bill, so conspicuous in fact, as to lead me to the remark, when questioned before the committee upon the subject of the constitutional amendment, that: "It is time to fear Greeks when they bear gifts." It is a question in my mind whether it is the part of wisdom on our part to urge Congress to secure more power on lines of legislation regarding the hours of labor until it has exerted the power it already has, more especially since there is ground for the suspicion that the one is used to hide opposition to the other.

It is only fair to say that Congressman Lovering, the author of the constitutional amendment resolution, was neither indifferent nor antagonistic to our eight-hour bill.

#### UTAH EIGHT-HOUR LAW CONSTITUTIONAL.

The eight-hour law adopted by the Legislature of Utah, in compliance with the constitution of the state, was as is known to you, appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. It is with much gratification that we can record the victory, that the highest court in the land has upheld the constitutionality of that law. Apart from the appeals which were sent out to financially aid our fellow workers at Utah, who bore the largest part of the burden in defense of that law and the principles involved therein, the sum of \$500 was donated from the funds of the A. F. of L. for this purpose.

#### EIGHT HOURS IN NAVY YARDS.

As a result of interviews had with the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, he issued an order for the enforcement of the eight-hour day in all the navy yards of the country. Previous to this our men were often employed in the navy yards fourteen hours per day at regular stated pay as for eight hours. The question of "time and a half" was only considered between the hours of eight o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning. The new order changes this effectually by providing that only by reason of "extraordinary emergency" can work be performed in excess of eight hours; that when such "extraordinary emergency" arises, necessitating work longer than eight hours, time-and-a-half, or 50 per cent additional, shall be allowed for all labor in excess of eight hours, regardless of when these hours of labor have been performed.

#### SEAMEN'S BILL.

The bill for the protection and improvement in the condition of seamen was given a number of hearings before the Senate Committee on Commerce, at which your Legislative Committee, President and others interested made arguments. The bill finally passed the Senate, but, owing to the war measures pending in the House, it was not taken up. We are assured that there will be little difficulty, if any, in securing the passage of this beneficent bill by the House of Representatives, and perhaps in an improved form.

#### JUDICIAL INJUNCTIONS.

Regarding the bill for the curbing of the power of the justices granting injunctions in labor disputes, little progress can be reported. At the last convention the declaration was made that we were dissatisfied with the bill previously passed by one house of Congress, and though hearings were had upon a more comprehensive measure, we were unable to obtain a report from the Senate Judiciary Committee. Every effort was made to secure from the officers of the organizations involved in the Toledo and Ann Arbor strike a copy of the order which, it was alleged, practically prohibited men from quitting their employment. In consultation with Senator Allen, of Nebraska, in regard to his bill upon the subject, it was clearly manifest that it would require important changes in order to be effective.

That relief from this form of judicial abuse of the injunctive power is necessary becomes clearer with each recurring contest. The decisions of Judge Hammond in the case of the wire drawers, and that of the court in overruling the opinion of the lower court in the case of Jacob Beck & Son against organized labor of Detroit, demonstrate this beyond the cavil of a doubt. We insist that the workers have the right to quit their employment, either singly or in unison, whenever the conditions of employment become irksome, or a change or improvement is desired; that when any representative of the workers engaged in a contest is directed by them to perform any duty for the furtherance of the purpose for which the cessation of work was inaugurated, that he shall have the right to perform that duty without judicial interference by injunction. If a representative of labor is guilty of a violation of law, he is amenable to that law, the same as any other citizen. The law knows no writ of injunction prohibiting any of its citizens from committing a breach of the law. If any wage-earner engaged in a dispute is guilty of an offense against the law, he may be brought to trial and punished as any other citizen. This the law recognizes as a complete remedy, and it is a firmly established rule of law that a writ of injunction shall never lie when there is another complete remedy. We assert that what is legal for one man to do can not be made illegal when done by another without endangering the fundamental principles of justice and liberty.

We should give our earnest consideration to formulating a measure calculated to bring the legislative relief from this species of oppression, authorized by no legislative enactment, but which is a court-made law, created by Judge Ricks, and followed by Judges Jenkins, Taft, Williams, Grosseup and others.

## CONVICT LABOR BILL.

The bill (H. R. 6092) to protect free labor from the competition of convict labor has been ordered to be favorably reported by the committee. The Legislative Committee expresses the opinion that, inasmuch as so large a number of employers are interested in this measure, as well as the workers, the passage of the measure is assured at no distant date.

## ARBITRATION LAW.

For a number of years the bill, presumably for the arbitration of disputes between the railroad employees of the country and the railroad companies, pended in Congress. The A. F. of L., at its convention, and its representatives at the Capitol, have from time to time interposed objections against the passage of the bill, on the ground that it interfered with the worker quitting his employment at any time when the conditions of employment became irksome; that in some form or other the bill contained features for the specific enforcement of a contract to labor, or personal service. When the bill was first introduced it had the affirmative of all these objectionable provisions. At each session of Congress the bill, by reason of our objections, has been improved and its direct penal provision eliminated. At the instance of your representatives, Congressmen and Senators called attention to the dangerous features contained in the bill, the result of which has been that many of our most important objections have been heeded and rectified. It is true that the brotherhoods and orders of the railroad employees regarded our objection to the passage of the bill with some feeling of asperity; but in the form in which the bill finally became law they will bear willing testimony that, owing to our persistency on this subject, the law is freer from dangers to their interests, their rights and their liberties, and the interests, rights and liberties of the workers of the country, than when the bill was first introduced.

## INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

The bill passed Congress creating an Industrial Commission for the purpose of investigating the conditions of labor, agriculture and business, and to inquire into such matters affecting the interests of all, and to report, by bill or otherwise, such measures as may be deemed necessary or advisable. The law is by no means as broad and comprehensive as the bill indorsed by the A. F. of L. When the law passed, I advised with the Executive Council as to whether recommendations should be made to the President of the United States for appointment upon the commission. At first the Council believed that a number of names should be submitted, but in view of the status of our bills before Congress, I advised, and the Council agreed, that we should make no recommendations. It is but fair to say that the President asked that we suggest names to him. An appointment on the commission was offered me. I believed then, and am strengthened in that conviction now, that our refusal to either accept appointments or to indorse any aspirants placed our movement in a more independent position, and increased the likelihood of the passage of the laws in the interest of labor.

The *personnel* of the Commission has already been published in the *American Federationist*. They have already organized, and are preparing to undertake the task for which they were appointed. It behooves this convention to take such action which, in its judgment, it may deem wise, in order that the questions in which the workers are particularly interested can be brought to the special attention of the Commission and receive its consideration. I recommend that a special committee be appointed for the purpose of taking this matter into consideration and to present a comprehensive report some time during this convention.

On one thing we should insist: There must be no shifting of the responsibility of Congress to consider and enact such legislation which has passed the experimental stage, and which is demanded as an immediate necessity. Our Eight Hour bill, Seamen's bill, Convict Labor bill, Anti-Injunction bill, etc.—these are measures which Congress can pass, and should pass, and for their failure to pass should be held to a strict accountability.

## TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES.

Quite an agitation has been carried on for the demand presented for the Government ownership of telegraphs and telephones. Hearings were had by the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, before which representatives of our cause appeared. The events connected with our recent war have done much to educate the public and official mind as to the necessity and practicability of this measure.

## POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

No material progress has been made for the passage of the bill creating Postal Savings banks. The promoters of the bill endorsed by the A. F. of L. agreed to the amendment which we insisted upon last year—that is, that the deposits under the provisions of the bill should not be specifically and affirmatively assured to the national banks. Owing to the war, the Government secured a loan of \$200,000,000. Had the Postal Savings bank been in existence, there certainly would have been no necessity for the issuance of bonds, which, though generally supposed to be held by the people, are in the possession of the banks.

## ANTI-SCALPERS' BILL.

The passage of the bill commonly known as the Anti-Scalpers' bill was protested against, as per your instructions; and those particularly interested in the measure credit our organization with having secured its defeat in the last session of congress.

## JUDGE FAXSON.

In compliance with the instructions of the last convention, apart from the telegraphic protest sent to the President against the appointment of Judge Paxson to the position of Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, upon return to headquarters a formal and comprehensive protest was presented to the President under date of December 28. It is with pleasure that I report to you that the judge who declared strikes to be treason, and who refused to accord to the organized railroad employes a hearing in a case before him in which their interests were involved (this office-seeking judge), was not appointed to the position to which he aspired.

## THE GAGE BILL CORRESPONDENCE.

The last convention passed a resolution condemning the bill introduced in Congress at the suggestion of the Secretary of the Treasury, Lyman G. Gage. On the return trip after the convention the public press contained a copy of a letter from Secretary Gage addressed to your President, and upon reaching headquarters the letter had been received. Your attention is called to the exchange of letters upon the subject as published in the *American Federationist*, January of this year, and which at the time was given widespread publicity and caused considerable comment. Your attention to the correspondence is invited in order to ascertain whether the position of the A. F. of L. upon the question has been maintained or otherwise.

## HEADQUARTERS AT WASHINGTON—ITS BENEFITS.

During the past year particularly, the wisdom of placing the headquarters at Washington, D. C., has been fully demonstrated, not only by the assistance promptly and more easily rendered the Legislative Committee in the various hearings upon bills, or to secure favorable consideration of our measures by opposing or indifferent legislators, but also the opportunities to be of practical assistance to promote or protect the interests of labor in matter of orders, contracts and work pending before the various departments. In the rush for the securing of clothing and other material for the soldiers, preparatory for and during the war, contracts would have been awarded to the most unfair employers of most miserably conditioned laborers had it not been for the timely interposition of the officers of the A. F. of L.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars were saved in the wages of machinists and other workers at the Rock Island Arsenal; the enforcement for the first time of the eight-hour workday in the navy yards of the country; the constant and persistent efforts to bring to the attention of the President of the United States, the members of his cabinet, as well as Congress, the question of the rights of the workers and the wrongs which they have too long endured, must unquestionably have a potent influence for a greater consideration of the rights of the wage-earners of America.

## PRINTERS.

For a long time the printers employed by the Weather Bureau in the Department of Agriculture were receiving a much lower wage than were the printers in the Government Printing Office at Washington. Owing to constant efforts an order was issued by which the wages of printers in the employ of the Bureau, no matter where located, were based upon the wages paid in the Government Printing Office, and the minimum of \$1,000 per annum established.

The First Assistant Postmaster General has issued orders to the divisions under his supervision, directing that contracts for printing in the several localities be given to none but union offices, implying thereby that the union label shall adorn the printed document.

## PLATE PRINTERS.

The plate printers' trade in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was threatened by the introduction of a new system of labor by which, by pursuing a false economy, the Chief of the Bureau would at the same time deteriorate the quality and workmanship of paper money and other government securities, rendering counterfeiting more easy, and particularly those bills of small denomination coming into the hands of the wage-earners of our country. Through the efforts of the A. F. of L. officers and Legislative Committee, in co-operation with a committee of the union, the enactment of a law was secured by which the interests of both the plate printers and the general public, and particularly the working people, have been protected better than at any time heretofore.

In his annual report, the Chief of the Bureau asks Congress to undo its own best work on this subject. With your advice and support, it is confidently expected his purpose will be defeated.

## THE PRESIDENT'S LABOR RECOMMENDATIONS.

As a result of the several interviews accorded us by the President, and our requests for his reference to remedial legislation in the interests of labor, the President, in his annual message to Congress last week, took occasion to say: "The alien contract law is shown by experience to need some amendments; a measure providing letter protection for seamen is proposed; the rightful application of the eight-hour law for the benefit of labor and the principle of arbitration are suggested for consideration; and I recommend these subjects to the careful attention of Congress."

## STATE AND LOCAL LEGISLATION.

Beyond doubt a larger number of laws in the interest of labor were passed by the legislatures in several of the states than has been the case since the first record of "Factory Legislation." Inasmuch as the several states have the jurisdiction of their respective internal affairs, continued activity in securing state legislation must, of necessity, be of vast importance in the progress and success of our cause.

There is gratifying progress among our municipalities adopting a higher minimum rate of wages and reduced hours of labor for its employees. This field of practical action should be further agitated by our organizations. And since experience has demonstrated that the direct employment of workers by local, state or general government without the intervention of contractors, is in the interest of good work, the workers and tax-payers, this should be constantly urged upon the attention of public officials.

## GROWTH OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIPS.

A much wider interest is being continually manifested in one of the urgent demands of our movement. The municipal ownership of public utilities is constantly being extended. Since our attitude upon this question, a number of leagues have been formed throughout the country, and all acting in unison for the dissemination of information of this most important municipal function. With the progress of events on this line, there can be no doubt but that many of the evils of our public life will be eliminated, and consideration of justice and fair dealing among our workers and citizens generally will have a higher plane. There are quite a number of trade unionists in many of our state legislatures and municipal councils, and it is largely due to their unionism and their training in our organizations that a better conception of this question has been gained. While much has been accomplished, yet much more remains to be done.

In considering further legislation now pending before Congress, your attention is directed to the report of the Legislative Committee, published in the August issue of the *American Federationist*, copies of which will be furnished you.

## THE WAR, CUBA, ANNEXED AND CONQUERED TERRITORIES.

For years the brave Cubans struggled and made sacrifices to attain liberty and independence from Spanish domination. Among the earliest sympathizers and co-operators with this cause was the A. F. of L. And, at every convention thereafter, this sentiment was reiterated and emphasized, and at gatherings of labor in every city and town of the country resolutions declaratory of the same sentiment were adopted.

At its session at Cincinnati, 1896, the following resolution was passed:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby tenders its hearty sympathy to all men struggling against oppression, and especially to the men of Cuba, who for years have sacrificed and suffered to secure the right of self-government.

"RESOLVED, That the example of the people of France, in giving recognition and aid to the Fathers in their struggle to secure the independence of the colonies, is worthy of imitation; and we hereby call upon the President and Congress to recognize the belligerent rights of the Cuban revolutionists."

The important events resulting therefrom are, in a great measure, our concern.

The tyranny of Spain, her misrule, her corrupting influences over the Cuban people and the impoverishment of her sons, at last quickened the sympathies and the consciences of American manhood. Many efforts were made by our government to secure Cuba's deliverance from her bondmaster. The pleadings of our people were evidently regarded by the Spanish government as of a platonic character, or that we were unwilling to bear the logical result of our humanitarian interest in the people of that superb isle of the Antilles. Perhaps she took our pleadings as manifestations of weakness or vacillation. She has found to her sorrow that we were as good as our word; and perhaps never in the history of mankind was a war begun on so high a plane of honor and humanity, or calculated to be of so great an advantage to the onward march of civilization.

From the ranks of labor came the quarter of a million of men who volunteered to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of their country in so great a cause. Who, then, but the representatives of labor have the better right to consider the very grave questions which have resulted from our war with Spain?

It was with feelings of exultation that we read of the heroic men in the field, and in the ships—the brave members of the Machinists' union who accompanied Hobson on his perilous voyage to danger and almost certain death; of the union boiler maker who, in the midst of battle, gave up his life while repairing an injured boiler; of the men who fed the flames in the furnaces, knowing the perils which awaited them, yet unbuoyed by the excitement of the storm of shot and shell without; of the stout-hearted men who carried the guns and who were behind the guns; the men in the fever-stricken trenches of Santiago and San Juan. The brave toilers of America have covered themselves and posterity with glory, which so long as liberty shall be a word with some meaning in the vocabulary of the language of our country, will emblazon the pages of history in letters of gold, and be hailed with delight in ages untold.

All through the perils of the war, the American heart beat as one in hope for victory; and, in the hour of our matchless triumph, our pride and gratitude knew no bounds that so great a contest was ended in so brief a period, and that not only might but the right has won.

Out of the war have grown questions of the most serious moment to our people generally and of direct interest to the wage-workers particularly.

Is it not strange, that, after entering upon a war with Spain to obtain the freedom



and independence of Cuba, now that victory has been achieved, the question of Cuban independence is often scouted? Our people were ardent and honest in advocacy of Cuban freedom, and are impatient at any attempt to juggle with the question. When the people of Cuba desire annexation to our country it is time to discuss the subject; and in the meantime the fruits of the victory for which they have striven so long and so valiantly, and for which we went to war to aid them to achieve, must not be ruthlessly taken from them.

The assurance given by the President regarding our duty toward Cuba, and that freedom and independence should be accorded its people at the earliest possible moment consistent with safety and assured success, will have an important bearing upon the solution of this question and portends the success of the primary mission for which the war with Spain was undertaken.

The A. F. of L., in unmistakable tones opposed the annexation of Hawaii in following terms: "WHEREAS, There is at present pending in the United States Senate a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands;

"RESOLVED, That annexation would be tantamount to the admission of a slave state, the representatives of which would necessarily work and vote for the enslavement of labor in general.

"RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we disapprove of annexation.

"RESOLVED, That we urge the United States Senate to reject the treaty for annexation, and to take such other steps as may be necessary to maintain amicable relations with Hawaii.

The annexation treaty was rejected by the Senate. As a war measure, however, annexation was secured by resolution. The Sandwich Islands, with their contract slave laborers, contract slave laws and all that they portend, are now the possessions of the United States.

Puerto Rico, invaded as a war measure, with its semi-nude people, has been conquered and taken as a possession.

At Manila, of the Philippine Islands, where the Spanish fleet was annihilated, and with it Spanish authority, we found the most advanced of the semi-savages, barbarians, Malays, Negritos, Chinese and others of the same calibre, in revolutionary combat against Spanish authority. We are confronted with the awful spectacle of our republic, founded, and for a century and a quarter successfully existing, upon the basis of the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; our great republic of America, face to face with the insurgents of Manila, seeking by the force of arms to compel their submission; recognizing that their cause would be a forlorn hope against the mighty power of our arms, sullenly yielding to superior force.

I take it that when the A. F. of L. declared against the wisdom of annexing Hawaii it was based upon the high principle of American republican institutions, as well as a fear of the dangers with which the toilers of our country would be threatened by coolie slave contract labor.

If our attitude upon that question was in line with the history, traditions and principles of our government, surely we cannot be wrong when we urge that it is a greater departure from the institutions of our country and the principles upon which our government is based to take by force of arms a people fighting for independence. If our interests as wage-earners were endangered by the annexation of an island with 100,000 inhabitants, how much more is the danger in taking a group of islands inhabited by 8,000,000 of people, perhaps nearer the condition of savages and barbarians than any island possessed by any other civilized nation on earth.

Desirous of avoiding in this report a lengthy argument, I propose stating as succinctly as possible the grounds of our opposition to the so-called policy of imperialism and expansion.

We cannot annex the Philippines without a large increase in our standing army. A large standing army is repugnant to republican institutions and a menace to the liberty of our own people.

If we annex the Philippines, we shall have to conquer the Filipinos by the force or arms, and thereby deny to them what we claim for ourselves—the right of self-government.

We shall surrender the present safe and independent position by which we are guaranteed the tranquillity and the fruits of peace, and force ourselves into European and Asiatic entanglements implying war and the preparation for war. We shall become a militant instead of a peace-loving nation. We shall seek to conquer by the force of arms instead of by our own industry, commerce and superior mentality and civilization. We shall be compelled to open the gates and admit the Chinese, Malays and slave laborers who may come from "our new possessions," since the constitution of the United States forbids the interdiction of the free entry of men and their products between our states and our territories.

Our constitution requires the judges of our Federal courts to make their decisions general and applicable to all the states and territories; and the contacts for the specific enforcement of labor and the performance of personal service will necessarily have to be interpreted in the light of these laws, and may become generally applicable to the workers of the United States. The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Robertson vs. Baldwin*, rendered last year, paves the way for a broader decision on these lines, and increases the peril.

The demand for expansion of trade abroad is based upon the idea that we manufacture to a larger extent than we can consume, when there are so many of our people who are workless, ahungered and ragged. Expansion of trade abroad has for its basis the contraction of the stomachs of men, women and children at home. The policy of imperialism is a declaration that self-government has failed, and that the people cannot be trusted; that the dollar is of more consequence than man, and plutocracy and militarism nobler than humanity.

The attempt to divert the attention of our people from the ills from which we suffer at home to foreign questions will fail. The principles of liberty and justice have been imbibed by our people too many years to permit them to be cheated out of their birthright. The institutions of our republic have taken root too deeply in the minds and hearts of our people to permit us to become a nation of conquerors, or to dominate by force of arms, a people struggling for liberty and independence.

Recently, speaking upon this question, I had the pleasure of saying:

"We do not oppose the development of our industry, the expansion of our commerce, or the power and influence which the United States may exert upon the destinies of the nations of the earth. On the contrary, we realize that the higher intelligence and standard of the life of the American workers will largely contribute towards attaining the highest pinnacle of industrial and commercial greatness; and these achievements in the paths of peace will glorify the institutions of our republic, to which the grateful eyes and the yearning hearts of the people of the earth will turn for courage and inspiration to struggle onward and upward, so that the principles of human liberty and human justice may be implanted in their own lands.

"America, and particularly American institutions, are not only worthy of our love and veneration because they give us greater freedom than those of any other nation, but the institutions of the United States represent a principle—the great principle of self-government of the people, for the people, by the people—self-restraint as well as great power. This principle we shall only prove ourselves worthy of representing, and holding forth as an inspiration for the peoples of other nations to emulate and seek to establish by manifesting restraint upon ourselves or upon those who would thrust us out of our physical, moral, progressive and powerful sphere into the vortex of imperialism, with all the evils which that term implies—militarism, despotism and venality on the one hand; slavery, misery and despair on the other.

"The flag of our republic should float over a free people, and must never form a cloak to hide slavery, barbarism, despotism or tyranny. America, as we know it, with its blessings of peace and stability, must not be hazarded for a new era."

The possessors of the wealth of our country enjoy liberty and freedom, no matter where they may be or wherever they may go. It has always been the hewers of wood and the carriers of water, the wealth producers, whose mission it has been not only to struggle for freedom but to be ever vigilant to maintain the liberty of freedom achieved; and it behooves the representatives of the grand army of labor, in convention assembled, to give vent to the alarm we feel from the dangers threatening us and our entire people, to enter our solemn and emphatic protest against what we already feel, that with the success of the policy of imperialism the decadence of our republic will have already set in.

"Forever in thine eyes, O, Liberty,  
Shines that bright light  
By which the world is saved;  
And tho' they slay us,  
We shall trust in thee."

#### DISARMAMENT.

From a strange source came a still stranger message of peace to the world: The Czar of Russia invited the governments of the world to send representatives to a conference to discuss and devise ways and means with a view to the disarmament of nations. A militancy is inimical to liberty, and as peace is essential to successful industry, progress and civilization, we should express our warm approval of any movement likely to contribute to the accomplishment of these desired ends.

#### DUTIES OF THE OFFICE.

During the year it became more necessary to travel to different points than during any previous term. Many of our affiliated unions engaged in contests with employers requesting the aid and co-operation of your President, with a view of participating in conferences, adjusting disputes and settling controversies. It affords me pleasure to say that in but very few instances have the efforts proven entirely futile. The officers of our affiliated unions, through their correspondence, have manifested their gratification, and extended their appreciative expressions for the timely aid and substantial results secured. I have been required to deliver an unprecedented number of addresses upon the labor question and labor movement and contests connected therewith. It became necessary to decline a very large number of pressing requests, which frequently developed into demands, for my presence to speak at public meetings. The office work, its manifold duties; the correspondence, not only with our affiliated National and International unions, state branches, central bodies, local trade unions, Federal Labor Unions, local unions attached to the National and International unions; with the executive officers of the United States and of several states, the Congress and the state legislatures, the municipalities, students, professors—and all of an enquiring bent of mind; the correspondence with representatives of the labor movement in different countries; the editing and control of the *American Federationist*; all these, if considered but for a moment, will convince the most skeptical that the office of President of the American Federation of Labor is no sinecure.

Of course it is not presumed that satisfaction has been given to all; one would feel as if he possessed but little character did he suit all the divergent views which are entertained. Decisions are necessary to be made; prompt and decisive action is often essential; the right must be stoutly defended, error pointed out and wrong rebuked, and though this may be tempered with kindness, the sting of an adverse decision or action is not always borne with magnanimity or forbearance, but conscious of the one desire to perform the duties of my office without fear or favor, the basic principles for my course, my only guiding star being that which would best promote the interests of labor, the upbuilding and the permanency and the success of our movement, my stewardship of the trust reposed in me is respectfully referred to your consideration.

#### CONCLUSION.

May I be permitted to take this opportunity to express my sincere and hearty appreciation of the co-operation of my colleagues in the Executive Council, the officers of all our unions, our



organizers, and of the great rank and file of organized labor, without whose sympathetic aid my work must of necessity have proven of little avail?

Notwithstanding the progress which has been made, we are conscious of the wrongs which labor endures, the many homeless, idle workers, the hopeless men and women and children. The injustice with which modern society pays its mainstay, its foundation, its wealth producers, is a poor requital for our toil. We recognize the wrong and clearly perceive the rights which are justly ours. With clear visions, heads erect and stout hearts beating in unison, fraternity and solidarity, labor will be free, humanity disenfranchised and ennobled.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

When President Gompers had read about two-thirds of his report the hour of 12:30 had arrived, and, upon motion of Delegate Shaffer, adjournment was taken until 2 o'clock, when reading of the report was resumed until its conclusion.

The reading of the report was frequently interrupted with applause. At the conclusion of the report the enthusiasm was intense and the applause was long continued.

## FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order at 2 o'clock by President Gompers.

Roll-call was taken.

Absentees—Garrity, McGuire, Autler, Sabine, Dressler, Valentine, Black, McBride, Rife, Shalvoy, Noonan, Fahey, Morton, Henry, Dalton, Timilty, Reynolds, Callahan.

On motion of Delegate Lennon the reading of the minutes of the morning session were dispensed with.

President Gompers resumed the reading of his report, and at its conclusion, on motion of Delegate Elderkin, it was referred to the proper committee when appointed.

The President stated that delegates from the Firemen, Tin-plate Workers, Hack Drivers and Teamsters made the request that some members of the convention be appointed to assist in forming national organizations. The President appointed Delegate Kidd to assist the Firemen; Delegate Shaffer for the Tin-plate Workers, and Delegate Bechtold to act with the Cab, Hack Drivers and Teamsters.

President Gompers then announced the following committees:

Committee on President's Report—Martin Fox, Thomas F. Tracy, Harry Lloyd, Andrew Furuseth, O. E. Woodbury, Henry S. Mills, P. F. Doyle.

Committee on Executive Council's Report—William J. Gilthrope, T. L. Lewis, C. H. Adams, W. J. O'Brien, George L. Cake, Daniel J. Keefe, John W. White.

Committee on Secretary's Report—Samuel B. Donnelly, Max Morris, John R. Spellman, James E. Fitzgerald, John M. Hunter, Charles F. Hahn, George F. Kenney.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, Stuart Reid, Eugene F. O'Rourke, John F. O'Sullivan, T. J. Shaffer, John Mitchell, Louis Jahns.

Committee on Laws—P. J. McGuire, John B. Lennon, Joseph F. Valentine, Robert Kelly, William F. Leigh, Andrew J. Casey, J. F. McCormick.

Committee on Organization—James A. Cable, W. J. Blain, S. J. Kent, Thomas I. Kidd, Edward B. Sabine, John Kirby, M. J. Noonan.

Committee on Labels and Boycotts—James O'Connell, George A. Whitaker, Thomas J. Elderkin, J. G. Cain, Charles F. Bechtold, Samuel Autler, George P. Keefer.

Committee on Grievances—John F. Tobin, David Black, John Slocum, C. L. Bowman, George H. Warner, Luke Grant, John Fahey.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—W. D. Mahon, D. J. Driscoll, Owen Miller, Charles L. Conine, J. F. McBride, James F. Carey, Jerry Donohue.

Secretary Morrison read the following report:

### SECRETARY'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow-Workers—I have the honor to submit to you a report of the receipts and expenses of the fiscal year, beginning November 1, 1897, and ending October 31, 1898.

The receipts show an increase of \$254.33 over those of the previous year. The increase of per capita tax—one-twelfth of a cent per member per month for International and National organizations, and one cent for local unions—which went into effect February 1, resulted in \$12,705.31, being received for per capita tax against \$9,646.10 last year; excess \$3,059.21. The total receipts from per capita tax, supplies and Federationist, are only \$254.33 over that of the previous year, which is accounted for by the one-cent assessment levied and collected in 1897, amounting to \$2,049.93, and the receipts from the *American Federationist* being \$1,120 greater than this year.

The increase in membership during the past twelve months has not been so large as it is encouraging. Only two of the sixty-seven affiliated National and International organizations report a decrease, nearly all having held their own or showing an increase, with several doubling or trebling their membership.

Twenty-two organizations surrendered their charters during the year; among that number was the Western Federation of Mines, with a membership of 14,000. The other unions were locals, and represented 412 members. Three local unions were suspended and ninety-eight were dropped for non-payment of per capita tax.

The heaviest single item of expense was for our legislative committee, amounting to \$1,954.96, which includes salary, printing and postage. Other appropriations made were the British Engineers, \$500; Utah labor organizations, \$200; Atlanta Textile Workers, \$200; Textile Workers' National Union, \$213; Amalgamated Wood Workers, \$66.67; Federated Wire Trades, \$50; and fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Labor Congress, \$650.

Following is a report of receipts and expenses by months for the year, which have been published in detail in the *American Federationist*, and a copy forwarded to each union:

RECEIPTS.				
	Per Capita Tax.	Supplies.	Assessment.	Federationist
Nov., 1897.....	\$759 09	\$262 72	\$273 58	\$11 32
Dec., 1897.....	971 25	195 26	64 29	24 60
Jan., 1898.....	401 20	355 45	85	12 95
Feb., 1898.....	895 63	360 36	1 96	506 91
March, 1898.....	998 36	386 60	1 24	236 20
April, 1898.....	888 29	406 47	.....	84 26
May, 1898.....	784 02	292 74	.....	7 70
June, 1898.....	1,821 80	351 05	25 35	354 01
July, 1898.....	831 89	224 81	89	131 44
Aug., 1898.....	885 10	258 40	.....	49 36
Sept., 1898.....	725 84	210 96	.....	485 55
Oct., 1898.....	3,742 84	227 86	.....	293 53
Totals .....	\$12,705 31	\$3,532 68	\$368 33	\$2,287 83

EXPENSES.				
	General.	Federationist.		
Nov., 1897.....	\$ 909 97	\$394 11		
Dec., 1897.....	1,737 72	3 21		
Jan., 1898.....	1,814 44	210 34		
Feb., 1898.....	1,840 82	178 56		
March, 1898.....	1,230 88	278 01		
April, 1898.....	1,524 94	180 90		
May, 1898.....	1,080 32	170 84		
June, 1898.....	1,789 06	327 63		
July, 1898.....	1,224 76	181 51		
Aug., 1898.....	1,021 21	217 60		
Sept., 1898.....	878 93	275 65		
Oct., 1898.....	1,602 37	123 39		
Totals .....	\$16,655 42	\$2,541 75		

### RECAPITULATION.

RECEIPTS.				
Balance on hand November 1, 1897.....	\$ 3,604 44			
Per Capita Tax .....	12,705 31			
Supplies .....	3,532 68			
Assessment .....	368 33			
Federationist .....	2,287 83			
				\$22,588 59
EXPENSES.				
General .....	\$16,655 42			
Federationist .....	2,541 75			
				\$19,197 17
Balance on hand .....				\$3,391 42

Following is a grouping as near as possible, under their several heads, of the detailed monthly expenses:

Appropriation to British Engineers.....	\$ 500 00
Utah for defense of eight-hour law.....	500 00
Atlanta Textile Workers.....	200 00
Textile Workers National Union.....	213 00
Amalgamated Woodworkers.....	66 67
Federated Wire Trades.....	50 00
Two delegates to British Trade Union Congress.....	550 00
One delegate to Canadian Labor Congress.....	100 00
Salary of Samuel Compers, President, twelve months.....	1,800 00
Salary of Frank Morrison, Secretary, twelve months.....	1,500 00
Salary of John B. Lennon, Treasurer.....	100 00
Entertainment of English delegates at Nashville Convention....	27 65
Traveling and hotel expenses, President and Secretary, attend- ing Nashville Convention.....	66 75
Assistant Secretary of Nashville Convention.....	50 00
Sergeant-at-arms.....	28 00
Messenger.....	28 00
Printing daily proceedings Nashville Convention and 2,500 bound copies.....	867 14
Rent of office.....	555 00
Premium for insurance of \$2,000 on office furniture and supplies	10 00
Convention supplies.....	20 30
Auditing books.....	49 50
Newspapers for office.....	6 35
Legislative Committee—Salary, printing, postage, etc.....	1,954 96
Organizing literature and printing.....	778 63
Supplies for Affiliated Unions.....	1,225 95
Office supplies.....	174 86
Postage and envelopes.....	677 73
Expressage.....	278 60
Telegrams.....	88 10
Organizing expenses.....	709 28
Stenographers.....	1,568 71
Office boy.....	425 75
Janitor.....	7 00
Light for office.....	15 33
Traveling expenses of President.....	547 74
Traveling expenses of Secretary.....	52 65
John B. Lennon—Expenses of Treasurer attending Bricklayers' Convention at Peoria, Ill.....	13 50
Printing 3,500 Officers' Reports and Programs.....	124 45
Office fixtures.....	141 08
Attending Executive Council meetings:	
P. J. McGuire, First Vice-President.....	33 50
Jas. Duncan, Second Vice-President.....	56 90
Jas. O'Connell, Third Vice-President.....	175 50
M. M. Garland, Fourth Vice-President.....	52 50
John B. Lennon, Treasurer.....	182 00
Miscellaneous.....	82 25
Expenses publishing <i>American Federationist</i> , twelve months....	2,541 75
Total.....	\$19,197 17

1889.

Balance on hand.....	\$ 604 83
Receipts.....	6,838 40
Expenses.....	\$ 7,443 23
	6,578 33
	\$ 864 90

1890.

Balance on hand.....	\$ 864 00
Receipts.....	23,849 74
Expenses.....	\$24,714 64
	21,070 57
	\$ 3,644 07

1891.

Balance on hand.....	\$ 3,644 07
Receipts.....	17,702 36
Expenses.....	\$21,346 43
	13,190 07
	\$ 8,156 36

1892.

Balance on hand.....	\$ 8,156 31
Receipts.....	17,834 56
Expenses.....	\$25,990 87
	18,324 69
	\$ 7,666 18

1893.	
Balance on hand.....	\$ 7,666 18
Receipts .....	20,864 62
Expenses .....	\$28,530 80
	21,383 36
	\$ 7,147 44
1894.	
Balance on hand.....	\$ 7,147 44
Receipts .....	15,346 43
Expenses .....	\$22,493 87
	17,302 08
	\$ 5,191 79
1895.	
Balance on hand.....	\$ 5,191 79
Receipts .....	13,751 75
Expenses .....	\$18,943 54
	15,612 42
	\$ 3,331 12
1896.	
Balance on hand.....	\$ 3,331 12
Receipts .....	16,290 18
Expenses .....	\$19,621 30
	15,452 95
	\$ 4,165 35
1897.	
Balance on hand.....	\$ 4,168 35
Receipts .....	18,639 92
Expenses .....	\$22,808 27
	19,113 83
	\$ 3,694 44
1898.	
Balance on hand.....	\$ 3,694 44
Receipts .....	18,894 15
Expenses .....	\$22,588 59
	19,197 17
	\$ 3,391 42

## AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The *American Federationist* during the past year ending October 31, contained from twenty-four to thirty-eight pages each issue. Expenses were \$253.92 more than the receipts. If all moneys due had been received, the deficit would have been less than \$100, which would have left a small balance in favor of the *American Federationist* for the past five years.

The expenses incurred through publishing the *American Federationist* for the past three years ('94, '95, '96,) of its existence, exceeded the receipts to the amount of \$213.67. It will be seen by a reference to the receipts and expenses ('97, '98,) as given below in tabular form, that there was a surplus of \$59.67 for the past two years, which reduces the total deficit to \$154.

The outlook is favorable for securing new advertising contracts, and at the end of the coming fiscal year there will be found a handsome surplus, with a larger magazine and a greater number of copies in circulation.

The following are the receipts and expenses for twelve months, ending October 31:

## RECEIPTS.

Advertising .....	\$2,035 10
Subscriptions .....	211 80
Copies .....	28 33
Miscellaneous .....	12 60
	\$2,287 83

## EXPENSES.

Printing .....	\$2,066 26
Commission on Advertising .....	413 88
Contributed Articles .....	29 01
Miscellaneous .....	32 60
	\$2,541 75

Excess of expenses over receipts, \$253.92.

## RECAPITULATION FOR TWO YEARS.

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Surplus.	Deficit.
1897.....	\$3,408 39	\$3,094 80	\$313 59	\$.....
1898.....	2,287 83	2,541 75	.....	253 92
	\$5,696 22	\$5,636 55	\$313 59	\$253 92
Surplus for two years, \$59.67.				

## STRIKES.

The result of the strikes during the past year as reported by the affiliated organizations can not be said to be discouraging. They have resulted in increasing the wages, reducing the hours of labor, and have averted many threatened reductions. They show that 260 strikes occurred, involving 22,311 workers, and out of that number 160 were won, twenty-nine compromised, thirty-six lost and thirty-five pending. The number of persons benefited was 19, 367, and 3,102 did not receive substantial benefit.

## BOYCOTTS.

The discrimination of trade unionists and their sympathizers against non-union products has resulted in unionizing many establishments, and proved of great assistance to National unions in their efforts to organize their crafts. The efficient service rendered by the central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and many that are not, deserve the very highest commendation.

The following is a condensed report culled from the reports received from affiliated unions for the twelve months ending October 31:

## NATIONALS.

Agents.—Issued four charters. Have secured a 10 per cent increase in commissions.  
 Broom Makers.—Issued five charters; two strikes; won one; lost one. Total gains in wages 10 per cent; gained without strikes, recognition of the union and use of label at Alpha, Ill.  
 Bakers and Confectioners.—Issued eighteen charters. Progress in shop control through union label. Cost of boycotts, \$2,000.  
 Bicycle Workers.—Issued seven charters. Won three strikes; lost one. General reduction prevented and in some places increases were made, and secured union scale of wage. Number of persons involved, 202; number benefited, seventy-eight; not benefited, 124. One boycott won, one lost and one pending. Cost of strikes, \$450; cost of boycotts, \$70. Scabs secured from Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo. Advantages gained without strikes, general reduction prevented and displacement of girls by men.  
 Brewery Workmen.—Issued twenty-two charters. Gained nine-hour day for six months in the year for unions in Milwaukee, Wis., and St. Louis, Mo., and for the year in Houston and Galveston, Tex., and Denver, Colo.  
 Brick Makers.—Issued ten charters. Ten strikes; won five; one compromised; two pending. Total gains in wages about 25 per cent. Secured reduction in hours of labor; union label recognized by employers; union brick is preferred by many contractors; ordinances passed by several municipalities demanding that union brick be used in the construction of public buildings. Number of persons involved in strikes, 1,200; benefited, 900; worsted, 300, cost of strikes, \$2,500; scabs secured from St. Louis, Mo., No. Alton, Ill. Increase of 10 per cent in wages in Cook county, without a strike.  
 Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders.—Issued nine charters. Thirteen strikes; won five; compromised two; lost six. Increase in membership. A large preponderance of members involved in the strikes won, comparatively few involved in the strikes lost. Gains in wages, 10 per cent in several places, 7½ per cent in one; several places 25 cents per day conceded without demand. Reduction in hours of labor per day in Pittsburgh. Nine-hour day is the rule. Two boycotts, one discontinued. Greater increase in membership; harmony among the workers secured as result of strikes.  
 Blacksmiths.—Issued three charters. Number of strikes, two; won one; one pending. Trouble at Rock Island Arsenal was settled in favor of the men and resulted in a substantial gain in wages.  
 Wood Carvers.—Issued two charters. Won one strike, and secured thereby 20 per cent increase in wages.  
 Lace Curtain Operators.—One strike; lost one. Total gains in wages, 22 per cent in one branch. Secured reduction in hours of labor and gains in other respects. Scabs secured from Philadelphia.  
 Cigarmakers.—Issued ten charters. Won twenty-five strikes; compromised two; lost four. Total gain in wages, about \$2 per week per member. Gained in membership. No loss during the year. Number of persons involved, 541; benefited, 484; not benefited, 57. Won one boycott; none lost; nineteen pending. Cost of strikes, about \$6,000.  
 Retail Clerks.—Issued forty-six charters. Several locals have obtained Sunday closing and others have secured a reduction of one hour each day. No losses.  
 Carriage and Wagon Workers.—Issued five charters. Several shops in Chicago, Milwaukee and Cleveland, adopted the nine-hour day without reduction in wages.  
 Coopers.—Issued sixteen charters. Won seven strikes; compromised one. Total gain in wages 10 per cent. Secured reduction in hours of labor. Eight-hour day in Milwaukee, Boston and a few other places. Gains on other respects. Three times as many members, and they are three times as enthusiastic. No loss during the year. Number of persons

- involved, 507; benefited, 467; not benefited, none. Boycotts won, one; lost two; pending five. Cost of strikes, \$432. Scabs secured from Boston, Mass. Advantages gained without strikes. Increasing demand for union label; many places became organized because compelled to use label or go out of business.
- Coremakers.**—Issued eleven charters. Five strikes; won three; one compromised; one lost; 8 per cent gain in wages; secured reduction in hours of labor. Number of persons involved, 310; benefited, 295; worsted, five; scabs secured from Philadelphia and in the East.
- Window Glass Cutters.**—Total gains in wages, 5 per cent; gains in other respects, 2 per cent; gain in membership, no losses; number of persons involved, 3,200; benefited, 3,200, none worsted; scabs secured from Elwood, Ind., Anderson, Ind., Eaton, Ind., Covington, Pa., Quaker City, Ohio.
- Electrical Workers.**—Three strikes; won two; lost one; number of persons involved 500; cost of strikes, \$680. Hours of labor have been shortened in a great many cities.
- Amalgamated Association of Engineers.**—Issued one charter; one strike, one compromised. Established minimum rate for machinists at Hoe's Printing Press, New York City, co-operating with International Association of Machinists; cost of strike, \$500.
- Steam Engineers.**—Issued six charters, and more than double in membership.
- Window Glass Flatteners.**—Total gains in wages, 15 per cent. Increase in membership. Won one strike, involving an increase of 15 per cent in wages over previous year.
- American Flint Glass Workers.**—One strike; still pending; thirty-nine persons involved; cost of strike benefits, \$4,527, from January 1, 1898, to November 12, 1898.
- Garment Workers.**—Issued fifteen charters. Increase in membership. Had three strikes; won one; lost two small strikes. About 1,500 persons employed in overall branch, gained about \$1 per week, and about 500 had hours of labor reduced two hours per week. In a number of cutting shops, union conditions have been established, by which wages have been raised and hours shortened. No losses in wages, and no decrease in the hours of labor reported anywhere. Have forced five clothing firms to pay the union scale. The union label has been of great benefit.
- Table Knife Grinders.**—Slight increase in membership.
- Granite Cutters.**—Issued four charters; twenty-two strikes; won seventeen; three compromised, resulting favorably; two lost; gained advance in wages in twelve instances; reduction in hours in two instances; advantages gained without strikes, fifteen yearly agreements.
- Gold Beaters.**—The trade has been reduced from seven and three-fourths cents per book to four cents per book.
- Hatters.**—Gain in wages, slight advance. Gain in other respects; non-union shops unionized, three or four. Loss during the year, none. Boycotts won, one; lost, none.
- Longshoremen.**—Issued twenty-eight charters. Had one strike, which was successful. Gained about 25 per cent in wages. Scabs secured in Ohio and Pennsylvania (Italian immigrants).
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods.**—Issued six charters; total gains in wages 15 per cent. At present ten hours constitute a day's work, but no member is allowed to work overtime; won one boycott.
- Building Laborers.**—Issued twelve charters and are enjoying fair conditions.
- Iron Moulders.**—Charters issued during the year, sixteen; number of strikes, twenty-nine; won eighteen; compromised two; lost four; pending five; total gains in wages in machinery and jobbing, about ten per cent; in a few localities hours of labor have been reduced; ten hours is the rule of the trade; gain in membership, 2,042. The stove-molding branch has had no reduction from the prices paid in 1892; the piece prices are arranged with the Stove Manufacturers Defense Association by yearly agreements. The union is in a better condition today, numerically and financially, than previous to the depression of 1893. Number of persons involved in the strikes, 846; benefited, 786; worsted sixty; two boycotts pending; cost of strikes, \$8,439.49. The trade conditions have been favorable during the past nine months. Have secured advance in wages, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent, and many concessions favorable to the unions.
- Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers.**—Issued twenty-two charters. One strike; won one. No reduction in wages. Four boycotts won; seven pending. Over forty disputes have been settled by arbitration.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued during the year, thirty-six. Strikes, twenty-eight; won, nineteen; compromised, five; lost, four. Fifty lodges report 10 per cent increase in wages. Sixty-six shops in Pittsburg, Pa., conceded the nine hour day without corresponding reduction in wages. Thirty-three disputes were settled without a strike, netting an increase in wages to members; prevention of piece work and running two machines; preventing reduction in wages; unionizing a large number of shops, and doing away with overtime; number of persons involved, 1,350; benefited, 1,270; worsted, eighty. Won one boycott and two pending. Cost of strikes, \$10,000; cost of boycotts, nominal. Scabs were secured everywhere, especially in unorganized towns. Advantages gained without strikes, protection to members and right to organize.
- United Mine Workers.**—Have issued forty-nine charters. Many local strikes adjusted. Secured two hours' reduction per day.
- Northern Mineral Mine Workers.**—Gained a fair and impartial trial of the eight-hour day for one mine, and compromised one strike.
- Musicians.**—Issued fourteen charters and increased 25 per cent in membership.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.**—Issued sixteen charters. Number of strikes seven; won five; compromised one; lost one. Secured general advance in wages, better treatment, and pay for overtime; ten hours in some towns. Two boycotts won; two pending. Gained ground in every town organized; men granted more privileges after organization than before.
- Painters and Decorators.**—Issued thirteen charters. One strike pending. Secured nine hours, and in six cities eight hours,

**Pattern Makers.**—Issued six charters. Won one strike. Gains in wages, 10 per cent. Wages in organized cities show a marked increase, in some cities as high as 20 per cent; number of persons involved, ten; benefited, 100, as all shops granted the demand. With October, 1898, a system of high dues (35 cents per week) and benefits (sick, death and tool insurance) went into effect.

**Plumbers.**—Issued thirty-four charters. Won eight strikes; lost two; compromised two; gain in wages, slight; persons involved, 500; benefited, 450; not benefited, fifty.

**Stoneware Potters.**—Won one strike; all members now working by the piece.

**Steel and Copper Plate Printers.**—No decrease in wages. Eight-hour day. Partially successful in contest against steam presses in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Successful with the Comptroller of New York City in having the bonds of that city printed by union labor.

**Street Railway Employees.**—Issued nine charters. Six strikes; won four; one compromised; one lost; gain in wages, about 2 cents an hour; secured reduction in hours of labor; number of persons involved, 1,100; benefited, 900; worsted, 200; cost of strikes, about \$2,000; scabs secured from St. Louis, Indianapolis, Philadelphia and Grand Rapids. Gained without strikes in several places increase in pay, shorter hours, etc., and in some places, changed rules and regulations to the advantage of the members.

**Seamen.**—Some members have been out on strike all the year. On the Pacific, wages were increased \$5 per month; the Lakes started at \$1.50 per day, now \$2—is not an increase over last year.

**Tailors.**—Issued nineteen charters. Won six strikes; lost none. Gain in wages estimated at \$30,000. Other gains; thirty-one locals secured increase of prices. Loss during year, six locals lapsed; number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 1,200; not benefited, none. One boycott won; lost, none; pending, none.

**Printers.**—Issued thirty-five charters during the year; number of strikes, thirty-one; won nine; pending, seventeen; lost, five; have secured a reduction from ten hours per day to nine and one-half, to take effect November 21, 1898, and further agreed with the United Typothetae for the introduction of the nine-hour day on November 21, 1899; following is the agreement:

"That the said United Typothetae of America agrees to inaugurate a shorter workday on the following basis: The nine-and-a-half-hour day, or the fifty seven hour week, to commence on November 21, 1898, and the nine-hour day, or fifty-four-hour week, on November 21, 1899.

That the said International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union and International Brotherhood of Bookbinders will endeavor in the meantime to equalize the scale of wages in the competitive districts where at present there are serious inequalities, upon the basis outlined by the representatives of the Pressmen's and Typographical Unions at the Milwaukee Convention of the United Typothetae of America.

PROVIDED, That nothing in this agreement shall be construed or operate to increase the hours in any city where they are now less than those specified.

PROVIDED, FURTHER, That nothing in this agreement shall be construed to prevent local unions or establishments from mutually arranging the fifty-seven or fifty-four hours, respectively, so that Saturdays may be observed as half-holidays.

PROVIDED, ALSO, That wherever the employers of any city will not, prior to November 21, 1898, enter into an agreement with local unions to carry out the above mentioned reduction of hours on the dates specified, the said union shall not be considered as restrained from endeavoring to obtain from such employers the nine-hour day or fifty-four hour week on any such earlier date as they in their judgment may select.

The above agreement with the Typothetae was reached without much difficulty, and is regarded as a signal victory, because it is the first official recognition of the organized printing trades by the United Typothetae. Number of persons involved in strikes, 645; benefited, 346; worsted, 46; cost of strikes, \$21,331.42; scabs secured mainly from un-organized towns.

**Tobacco Workers.**—Issued six charters. Gain in wages not large and only in a few instances. Gains generally have been secured by the use of the label, which has strengthened the organization. Many manufacturers are now using label, having discovered that it is to their advantage to do so.

**Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers.**—Issued eight charters. Won one strike. Advantages gained without strikes. Affiliated locals have agreements with firms to the 1st of May.

**Trunk and Bag Workers.**—Issued one charter. Wages cut in St. Louis, but secured restoration through arbitration.

**Elastic Goring Weavers.**—Two strikes; won one; one pending; prevented reduction in wages; cost of strikes, \$1,875. Trade has been very bad, the majority of men not working over two or three days per week.

**Federated Wire Trades.**—Issued three charters. One strike; 3,000 persons involved; 700 worsted; one boycott lost; cost of strike about \$5,000. Scabs secured from Worcester, Mass.; Waukegan, Ill., and Cleveland.

#### LOCAL.

**Brushmakers, 6980 (Chicago, Ill.)**—Secured contract of the Board of Education of Chicago with assistance of committees from Chicago Federation of Labor; had city order the label placed on all goods purchased where there was a label, and to be union made where there was no label.

- Cap Cutters, 6167 (New York City).—Total gains in wages, \$2 per week; Saturday half-holiday conceded.
- Canmakers, 6946 (Baltimore, Md.)—Won two strikes; secured 25 per cent gain in wages.
- Cooper Machine Workers, 7124 (Minneapolis, Minn.)—Won one strike; secured increases in wages ranging from 25 cents to 60 cents a day.
- Federal Labor, 6558 (Glenwood, Wis.)—One strike; 500 persons involved and 500 benefited.
- Federal Labor, 6630 (Bonner, Mont.)—Gained in membership.
- Federal Labor, 6623 (Clinton, Mont.)—Gains in wages, \$5 per month; total reduction of hours none but union men and to pay not less than \$35 per month and board, and not to work their men over ten hours per day; 200 persons benefited.
- Federal Labor, 6964 (Ouray, Colo.)—Slight gain in wages; secured reductions of two hours per day.
- Federal Labor, 6994 (Bearthmouth, Mont.)—Won one strike; compromised one; total gains in wages, \$5 per month; secured reduction in hours; number of persons involved, forty-five; number benefited, forty-five.
- Federal Labor, 7089 (Lima, O.)—One strike compromised; gain in wages, 10 to 30 per cent; membership increased.
- Federal Labor, 7106 (South Bend, Ind.)—Won one strike; one compromised; none lost; gain made in wages and reduction in hours.
- Federal Labor, 7122 (Olney, Ill.)—One hour per day reduction secured, with promise of two.
- Federal Labor, 7138 (South Omaha, Neb.)—Won one strike; number of persons involved, 3,000; number benefited, 6,000. Total gains in wages, 2½ cents an hour.
- Stationary Firemen, 6892 (Kansas City, Mo.)—Gains secured in wages and reduction in hours. Difficulties settled without strikes.
- Horse-Nail Makers, 7073 (New Brighton, Pa.)—Have secured improved conditions and the recognition of the union.
- Iron Workers' Helpers, 6709 (Cleveland, O.)—Gains made in wages; number of persons benefited, fifty.
- Iron Workers' Helpers, 7131 (Lorain, O.)—Won one strike; gains in wages, 25 cents a day; number of persons involved, 250; number benefited, 400.
- Laborers, 6,869 (Ludington, Mich.)—One strike compromised; number of persons benefited, 378; one boycott pending.
- Laundry Workers, 7133 (Cleburne, Tex.)—Won one strike; compromised one; gains in wages, \$1 per week; two hours per day reduction; number of persons involved, sixteen; number benefited, twenty.
- Lime Burners, 7078 (Rockport, Me.)—One strike; 600 persons involved.
- Lumber Inspectors and Tallymen, 5525 (Toledo, O.)—No increase in wages; no reduction in hours.
- Marble Cutters and Tile Setters, 6848 (Rochester, N. Y.)—Secured reduction in hours of labor.
- Park Department Workers, 7061 (Dorchester, Mass.)—Last year, four months, half day Saturdays; this year, six months, making a gain of thirty-three hours.
- Plasterers, Tenders and Laborers, 6901 (Memphis, Tenn.)—Secured two hours reduction in day's work.
- Plate Glass Workers, 6895 (Elwood, Ind.)—Boycott placed on Pittsburg Plate Glass combine; scabs secured from the Eastern factories.
- Slate and Tile Roofers, 5774 (Kansas City, Mo.)—Secured reduction in hours of labor.
- Stone Pointers, 6775 (South Boston, Mass.)—One strike; wages fairly good; nine hours per day, Saturday eight hours; money expended on strike contributed by the members; scabs secured in Boston.
- Shingle Weavers, 7099 (Menominee, Mich.)—Secured recognition for the union.
- Seamless Tube Workers, 6973 (Ellwood City, Pa.)—Won three strikes; secured 5 per cent increase in wages.
- Sprinkler Fitters, 6479 (St. Louis, Mo.)—One strike compromised; recognition of union secured.
- Stoneware Workers, 6888 (Akron, O.)—Reduction in wages averted; prospects bright.
- Tin Plate Openers, 6914 (Elwood, Ind.)—Gained an increase of 12 to 15 per cent in wages.
- Tin Plate Workers, 6908 (Elwood, Ind.)—Total gain in wages, 7½ per cent; number of persons benefited, 400. Scale of wages signed, with a good advance without a strike.
- Patent Machine Tinner, 6947 (Newcastle, Pa.)—Reduction in hours from twelve to eight per day; 15 cents an hour for cleaning from July 1, 1898, used to clean for nothing.
- Tin Plate Workers, 7060 (Atlanta, Ind.)—One strike won after being out ten days. Slight increase in wages; gained recognition of union; number of persons involved, fifty-four; number benefited, forty-eight; worsted, four.
- Teamsters, 7083 (Collinsville, Ill.)—Total gains in wages, 33 per cent. Do all the city teaming.

## UNION LABEL.

The agitation and the use of the label as a guarantee that the products have been manufactured under favorable conditions is on the increase. It is safe to say that every central body that is in any way active has a label committee, whose duty it is to visit the different firms and secure their promise to handle labeled goods, and in many cities active label leagues have succeeded in creating a healthy demand for union products. The only serious drawback is the multiplicity of labels, which are increasing every year.

There are now thirty labels, three cards and one badge recognized by organized labor. The unions using labels endorsed by the A. F. of L. are:



Cigarmakers, Printers, Boot and Shoe Workers, Hatters, Wood Workers, Garment Workers, Tobacco Workers, Tailors, Moulders, Gold Beaters, Horse Nail Makers, Sardine Packers, Salmon Fishermen, Bakers, Coopers, Flour Mill Employes, Laundry Workers, Teamsters, Photographers, Leather Workers, Brewery Workers, Mattress Makers, Broom Makers, Carriage and Wagon Makers, Brickmakers, Bicycle Workers, Bottle Blowers, Brushmakers, Metal Polishers, Machinists, Horse Shoers, Can Makers. The Clerks, Barbers and Waiters have a card and the agents have a badge.

#### ORGANIZATION.

During the year, 203 charters have been issued to National, central, local and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number nine were granted to the following National and International Unions: Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers International Union, Building Laborers International Protective Union of America, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Wood Carvers' Association of North America, Window Glass Flatteners' Association of North America, Window Glass Cutters' League of America, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, National Steel and Copper Plate Printers of the United States, Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union of America.

Twelve to central labor unions, as follows: Sacramento, Cal.; Memphis, Tenn.; Galveston, Texas; Lowell, Mass.; Fairmount, Ind.; Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.; Collinsville, Ill.; Atlanta, Ga.; Bay City, Mich.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Port Huron, Mich.; Elgin, Ill.

There are at the present time 431 organizers commissioned by the A. F. of L. That their work has been successful can readily be verified by reference to the reports of the fifty International and National organizations, just read, which gives the information that they have issued 527 charters during the year.

The report received indicate that 880 unions have been organized through their earnest assistance. The faithful work done by these organizers is well understood and appreciated by the officers of the National organizations.

To give the delegates a better understanding of the condition of the treasury during the past year, I quote below the balance on hand on the first of each month:

February .....	\$1,957 21	July .....	1,848 37
March .....	1,792 69	August .....	1,612 13
April .....	1,905 20	September .....	1,586 18
May .....	1,579 38	October .....	1,853 95
June .....	1,412 85	November .....	3,339 42

It will be noticed that the balance prior to the first of November would not justify the initiation of new work necessitating large financial outlay.

Much effective work has been accomplished and is in progress at the present time, organizing the oil well workers, plate glass workers, tin workers and laundry workers, to say nothing regarding the efforts expended in forming locals of the different National unions.

The outlook for the coming year is good. The trade unionists are slowly, but surely, forcing better conditions for the organized and upon the unorganized workers; increasing our membership and power, and are better qualified today than ever before to secure favorable consideration for their demands, and the passage of laws guaranteeing more equitable conditions.

It is a source of satisfaction to be able to report that a larger percentage of the affiliated organizations have recently been more prompt in meeting their obligations than in years past, and that many of the unions suspended for non-payment of per capita tax have been reorganized, and are now in good standing.

Through the delegates present I desire to express my thanks to the officers of the International, National and local unions for their courteous treatment accorded me during the past two years, and to my colleagues of the Executive Council I extend my sincere appreciation for their earnest assistance and advice given in their zeal for the success of the movement.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary A. F. of L.

On motion of Delegate Kent, it was referred to Committee on Secretary's report.

Delegate Tracy, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials desire to report that protests against the credentials of C. Bechtold and J. Zorn, 100 votes, United Brewery Workers, and P. J. Doyle, 1 vote, Chicago Federation of Labor, being withdrawn, recommend the seating of those delegates.

We further recommend the seating of M. Donnelly, of the Omaha Central Labor Union, with one vote, the protest having been withdrawn.

T. F. TRACY, Chairman,  
J. T. MULHOLAND,  
HOMER D. CALL, Secretary.

Delegate James E. Fitzgerald moved the report be received and recommendations concurred in. Adopted.

Treasurer John B. Lennon then read his report, as follows:

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

NOVEMBER 1, 1897, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1898.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

During the year just past the industrial prosperity of our Nation has been seriously interfered with by the war with Spain and the agitation coming therefrom, yet in spite of all the unfavorable circumstances, it is true, as it has always been, that the solid, stable and steadfast trade unionists have not only maintained as favorable conditions as existed a year ago, but in many instances have materially improved them, and, while the opportunity for employment has not been as favorable as some anticipated, yet in nearly every case where our members have had employment they have received for their labor as high, if not higher, compensation than was ever received by them for the same class of work at any time in the history of our Nation.

The achievements of the steadfast and true trade unionists is a striking lesson, which should be carefully heeded by the workers of the world, and should be the means of convincing one and all that at the present time the trade union is the only means by which the worker can expect to either maintain conditions as they now exist or secure a better one.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the officers of most of our International unions, have been criticised by a great many non-unionists, and by some members of trade unions, who in reality are not trade unionists at all, for inefficiency and failure to do effective work for the great body of the membership of our organization. I have no apology to make to anyone for my conduct during the past year. I have done the very best work of which I was capable, using at all times, as it appeared to me, the very best methods that were within my reach to further the interest of the members of our great organizations. This is an age in which exceedingly effective work can only be accomplished by the payment of high dues by the members of all organizations to their International Unions and by the International Unions to the Federation. Money is the principal means by which officers of the various labor organizations can push forward effectively the work that is expected of them by the members throughout the country. Wherever the officers of the Federation, during the past year, have failed to accomplish all that was expected of them, a careful investigation of our reports will show that the lack of effectiveness, whatever it may be, was because the organizations did not furnish sufficient means to enable us to do all that should have been done. If this is to be remedied in the future the organizations must either contribute more funds or the conventions must not lay out so extensive and expensive a program to be carried out by the officers during the ensuing year.

I believe we have exceedingly good reasons to be hopeful of progress in the years to come in spite of all the hue and cry that has been raised against the trade unions; they are only means that has accomplished effective work for the toilers. This being true, success, and full success, will finally crown their efforts, if all remain steadfast.

To you, as delegates in this Convention, and through you to your constituents throughout our jurisdiction, I extend my sincere thanks for the great kindness with which I have been treated and for the honors that have been conferred upon me for so many consecutive years. To the members of the Executive Council and the officers of the International Unions I extend a kindly greeting and best wishes. Below you will find a statement of the finances of the Federation, so far as they have passed through my hands during the year just closed:

## INCOME.

1897.				
November	30.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	\$1,306 71
December	31.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,255 40
1898.				
January	31.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	770 45
February	28.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,854 86
March	31.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,622 40
April	30.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,379 02
May	31.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,084 63
June	30.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	2,552 21
July	31.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,180 03
August	31.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,192 86
September	30.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	1,422 35
October	30.	Cash from Secretary Morrison	.....	3,264 23
November	1, 1897.	Balance in hand	.....	2,694 44
Total				\$21,588 59

## EXPENSE.

1897.				
November	30.	Paid November Warrants	.....	\$1,304 08
December	31.	Paid December Warrants	.....	1,740 93
1898.				
January	31.	Paid January Warrants	.....	2,024 78
February	28.	Paid February Warrants	.....	2,019 38
March	31.	Paid March Warrants	.....	1,508 80
April	30.	Paid April Warrants	.....	1,705 84
May	31.	Paid May Warrants	.....	1,251 16
June	30.	Paid June Warrants	.....	2,116 69
July	31.	Paid July Warrants	.....	1,406 27
August	31.	Paid August Warrants	.....	1,238 81

September 30. Paid September Warrants.....	\$ 1,154 58
October 31. Paid October Warrants.....	1,725 76
Total .....	\$19,197 17
Total receipts .....	\$21,588 59
Total expenses .....	19,197 17
Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$ 2,391 42
Balance in hands of Secretary.....	1,000 00
Total balance .....	\$ 3,391 42

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer.

On motion it was referred to the Committee on Secretary's Report.

The local committee on arrangements invited the American Federation of Labor and visitors to a ball to be held at Casino hall, Monday evening, December 12.

Delegate Fahey moved that the program as arranged by the local committee for the entertainment of delegates and visitors for the week be accepted.

Delegate James E. Fitzgerald opposed the motion and moved to amend that the invitation extended to the American Federation of Labor for Monday evening be accepted. Adopted.

Delegate Lloyd moved that Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, of Chicago, be invited to address the convention on Thursday afternoon. Subject: "Courts and the Workingmen." Adopted.

Secretary Morrison wired the following invitation:

Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 12, 1898.

Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, Chicago, Ill.:

By direction of American Federation of Labor Convention you are respectfully invited to deliver an address before the delegates on "Workingmen and the Courts" Thursday, December 15th.

FRANK MORRISON,

Secy. A. F. of L.

Delegate Cahill reported as follows for the Committee on Rules:

To the Officers and Members of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on Rules, beg leave to submit for your consideration the following rules to govern this convention:

Rule 1.—The convention shall be called to order at 9 a. m., adjourn at 12 noon, to reassemble at 2 p. m., and to continue in session until 5:30 p. m.

Rule 2.—Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking he shall confine himself to the question.

Rule 3.—Should two or more members rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4.—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless it shall be to call him to a point of order.

Rule 5.—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

Rule 6.—A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than five minutes at a time without permission.

Rule 7.—A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

Rule 8.—When a question is before the house no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order named.

Rule 9.—A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

Rule 10.—A motion for a reconsideration shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a majority vote.

Rule 11.—Any delegate not present to answer to his name at roll call shall be marked absent; but in the event of being unavoidably absent, shall have the privilege of reporting to the Secretary.

Rule 12.—The previous question can only be put when called for by at least twelve members.

Rule 13.—That before a resolution is received by the chair or Committee on Resolutions, it shall bear the signature of the delegate introducing it, with the title of his union.

Rule 14.—No motion or resolution shall be finally passed without opportunity to speak is afforded the delegate making or introducing the same.

Rule 15.—That no resolution be received after Thursday's session without unanimous consent.

Rule 16.—All questions not herein provided shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll call of Officers and Delegates.
2. Reading Minutes of previous session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of Officers.
5. Reports of Regular Committees.
6. Reports of Special Committees.
7. Unfinished Business.
8. New Business.
9. Election and Installation of Officers.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

J. H. SULLIVAN, Chairman,  
R. BRAUNSCHWEIG,  
H. S. MILLS,  
J. E. FITZGERALD,  
B. PERIGNY,  
ISAAC COWEN,  
JOS. J. CAHILL, Secretary.

Moved that the report be received and rules recommended be adopted. Carried.

The Credentials Committee submitted the following additional report:

On the protest of the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders against the credentials of Max S. Hayes, of the Cleveland C. L. U., your committee recommend the seating of the delegate, the Cleveland C. L. U. having complied with the law

On motion the report was adopted.

President Gompers read the resolutions contained in the program by their titles and referred them to committees, as follows:

Resolution No. 1.—By Cleveland (Ohio) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares "that it behooves the representatives of Trades and Labor Unions of America to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled, and in the preceding sentence it is proclaimed that a struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries; a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling masses if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit:

WHEREAS, The foregoing declarations are at variance with Section 8, Article III, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which reads: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the convention of the American Federation of Labor," because a class organization of workmen, as the trade union must necessarily be, cannot accomplish the amelioration of the conditions of wage workers unless its industrial combination is augmented by a political propaganda to enforce better economic conditions, and eventually succeed in abolishing the pernicious wage system which is responsible for the deg-

radation of the toiling masses under competitive capitalism, which questions are political issues and consequently must be discussed by the wage workers on every occasion, if the evils are to be remedied, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, that Section 8, Article III, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution, be altered so as to read: "Section 8. Discussions upon any subject affecting the interests of the toiling masses shall be in order, but no political policies shall be endorsed except those bearing on the class-conscious propaganda for abolition of the wage system."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 2.—By National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States:

RESOLVED, That no boycott shall be considered as valid for the unions and members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor unless the National or International Union, where such exists, or a Federal Labor Union, after vainly trying to adjust the differences, apply to the American Federation of Labor General Headquarters for endorsement of the boycott, and that this endorsement be given by the President or the Executive of the American Federation of Labor; and be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive of the American Federation of Labor shall not endorse any boycott proposition if the effect of such boycott tends to boycott union products. This is to be understood that products of members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall not be placed under boycott for any of the following reasons: Because in the manufacture of the main products, raw material, etc., or tools, machinery, etc., have been used that may be non-union; or because the package may be a non-union product; or because the product may be transported, handled or sold by non-union labor; or because the product may have been made in buildings built partly or entirely by non-union men; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose members are, in a merely indirect or auxiliary manner, engaged in the making or handling of any product, presents a grievance on account of the employment of non-union men, then the President or the Executive of the American Federation of Labor shall try to bring about an understanding and agreement between the various unions interested in the case, and no effort shall be spared to do justice to all parties concerned.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

To amend the Constitution of the A. F. of L. by striking out Sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of Article X, to-wit:

Section 1. In case any National or International or local body affiliated with this Federation shall order a strike, or is locked out, and by reason of financial distress it shall be necessary for it to call upon the Federation for aid, the Executive Council, if

they deem that such organization is entitled to receive such assistance, shall make an assessment not exceeding two cents per member per week, upon every National, International and local body affiliated with the Federation.

Section 2. Such assessment shall remain in force for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks, unless otherwise ordered by a general vote of all National and International unions affiliated.

Section 3. Any National or International organization or other body connected with this Federation, failing to comply with the requirements of Section 1 of this Article within a period of thirty days, shall be suspended, and shall not be reinstated until all arrears are paid in full.

Section 4. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the President of the Federation, giving a detailed account of the strike or lockout.

Section 5. No affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to benefit from the strike fund of the Federation until it has been six months affiliated, has paid six months' per capita tax to the Federation, and must be in good standing.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

To add a new section, Section 9, of Article IX.

The Executive Council shall make no donations or loans to affiliated unions for any purpose whatever, but shall use all surplus funds of the Federation over and above the actual running expenses for organizing purposes and to secure the passage of legislation that has been approved by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate J. F. McCormick:

To amend the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor—

#### NEW ARTICLE.

Section 1. The American Federation of Labor hereby adopts as a Universal Label the following design: [ \* \* ]

Section 2. The President shall, when he deems it necessary, cause the said label to be registered in States, Territories and Provinces. Where registration is or may hereafter be authorized by law, and is enjoined to prevent, either by resort to the courts or by such other measures as may appear practicable, the infringement, counterfeiting or forgery of the same.

Section 3. The President shall have the power to issue the Universal Label to any affiliated International union, National union or local union having neither a National nor International organization; and the Secretary shall, upon application, when the label is so issued, furnish a cut of the said American Federation of Labor label in any desirable size at cost, and, when it is desired, the words "Union Made" may be placed either on the inside or outside of the triangle.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 5.—By Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Thirty days' leave of absence is granted to almost all employees of the Government, except those employed in navy yards, gun factories, naval stations, and arsenals of the Government;

WHEREAS, A bill will be presented to the Fifty-fifth Congress—short session—which will grant to these employees the same privileges enjoyed by others working for the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, sympathize with all employees of the Government who are not accorded the privilege of leave of absence; and, further

RESOLVED, That we give our hearty co-operation to this cause and will aid in securing this legislation where it is possible.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 6.—By Cleveland (Ohio) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The means of production and distribution are at present in control of the capitalist class, to the detriment of the workers, and as it has been proven in the past that trade unions, fighting for their rights on the industrial field alone, cannot change this unfair condition, and inasmuch as the British Trades Union Congress has already gone on record as favoring the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution; and,

WHEREAS, The opinion prevails that united political action is the best method to accomplish this object; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That we recommend to all trade unionists of America to render their moral and financial support to the Socialist Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate J. A. Cable:

WHEREAS, A dispute has been existing for something like two years between the Coopers International Union and the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen, as to which shall have the right to repair loose cooperage in breweries; and,

WHEREAS, The Executive Council has been unable to decide the question; and

WHEREAS, The lack of harmony and a proper understanding between the two organizations is detrimental to the interests of both as well as to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President shall appoint a committee of three, from representatives of trade unions, who shall hear the evidence upon both sides of the question, and make recommendations to the convention in accordance with their findings, and that the union setting forth the best claim be given jurisdiction over the work aforesaid.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegate John Kirby:

RESOLVED, That it is the sentiment of the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the worldwide attempt of the money power to fasten the single gold standard of currency upon the people of all nations has proven disastrous in practice, as it is admitted by all scientific economists to be unwise in theory; that the attempt has proven to be especially inimical to the producing classes and only for the interests of accumulated capital, and calculated to produce centralization of wealth, to the great and irretrievable injury of the laboring man and all other producers of wealth; that we demand that the United States shall no longer be a party to the conspiracy of the wealthy classes to perpetuate the outrageous single standard system, but that this nation shall return without delay to the just and equitable bimetallic standard adopted by the founders of our Government, by removing every vestige of legislative restriction to the coinage of silver on equal terms with gold at the ratio now established by law; and that we regard the assumption that this nation can not open its mints to the coinage of silver on equal terms with gold with safety, without the co-operation of other nations, as humiliating and unpatriotic, and without any foundation in economic principle or in fact.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate John Kirby:

WHEREAS, The vast territory comprising the inter-mountain states lying west of the Mississippi River has not received the attention of the American Federation of Labor, or of the several National and International organizations, to organize the wage workers of this vast region; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, appropriate sufficient moneys from the treasury to defray the necessary expenses of a sufficient number of organizers to be employed and sent into those inter-mountain states and territories to organize into local, federal, national and international unions, the wage earners of those states and territories west of the Mississippi river; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an appropriation of sufficient moneys be made from the treasury of the American Federation of Labor to defray the expenses of President Samuel Gompers, and that he be ordered to visit in advance of the organizers all cities, towns and mining camps in the territory mentioned, at as early a date as possible, to advise and instruct the wage earners of this region.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 10.—By Delegate John Kirby:

WHEREAS, The growth and importance of the American Federation of Labor has passed beyond the experimental stage, and today stands before the people of the United States and the world as the greatest exponent of the principles of protection of the wage earners and producers, leading the march of industrial freedom; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the time has arrived when we should adopt a system by which we may make our influence felt, and a closer bond unite our membership; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor adopt a universal recognition sign to be used by all affiliated organizations, to the end that affiliated organizations and members of the same may know and recognize each other; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and is hereby, empowered to prepare and adopt such recognition sign; and also prepare and adopt a method of procedure and ritual in conformity with such change, the same to go into effect March 1, 1899.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Labels and Boycotts shall report to the convention not later than the fourth day's session, on the advisability of a Universal Label, or on the feasibility of placing on all labels some uniform design.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

New Section. Section 10, Article III. All resolutions or other amendments offered by any delegate after the fourth day's session of the convention shall be referred to the next annual convention, and shall appear in the printed program. (This section shall not exclude new matter submitted by report of any committee.)

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

Amendment to Constitution. New section. Section 9, Article III. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 14.—By Coal Employees Union, No. 6580, Troy, N. Y.:

To amend Article XI, Section 1. In third line, after the word "unions," strike out the words "two cents per month" and insert "one cent per month," and add the following new section: Section 4. No amendment to increase the per capita tax shall be enforced unless by a referendum vote of the members of the unions subject to the increased taxation.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegate James O'Connell:

To amend constitution of American Federation of Labor, Article XI, Section 1. In third line, change word "two" to read "five," so that the per capita tax for local trade unions and Federal Labor unions shall be (5) cents per member per month.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegate James O'Connell:

To amend constitution of the American Federation of Labor by adding the following section to Article X: Section 6. All local

trade unions and Federal Labor unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council a full statement of the grievance before a strike occurs. Unions violating this section shall forfeit all claims upon the American Federation of Labor or affiliated organizations for support.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 17.—By Delegate James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, The United States Government during the late war with Spain for a period of about six months worked the employes in the navy yards and arsenals over the regular day of eight hours instead of increasing the forces, and for which said forces only received single time; and,

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists have been endeavoring to secure for the employes of the navy yards and arsenals extra time of one-half for all over-time worked; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council is hereby instructed to give the International Association of Machinists every possible assistance in securing extra time for all who have worked over eight hours per day, and the delegates to the Eighteenth Annual Convention are hereby requested to bring the matter before their various organizations with a view to petitioning the War and Navy Departments and the President of the United States to pay this extra time without unnecessary delay.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegate James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, The United States Government (through their directing boards of the various navy yards and arsenals) have for the past two years made an effort to introduce the two-machine and piece-work system; and

WHEREAS, These obnoxious systems are not tolerated in the private machine shops throughout the country, except in isolated institutions now under the ban of the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, The said International Association of Machinists, recognizing the harmful effects of the above mentioned practices, not on the craft alone, but on society at large, inasmuch as the piece-work system lowers the standard of living by reducing wages, while the two-machine system crowds the already overstocked market with unemployed, by seeking to have one man perform the labor that should be done by two; and,

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists have for several years steadily and consistently fought these innovations, not only by organized resistance, but have refused to allow its members to work under such regulations; and

WHEREAS, We regard the present attitude of the Government to be the result of dictation from manufacturers, who seek to make the Government accomplish that which they themselves have failed to gain; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the International

Association Machinists, do hereby request that the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to use any and all means in its power to assist us in abolishing this form of slavery from all government shops, and we do request also the moral support of each delegate to the extent of petitioning their Senators and Congressmen in their respective districts to demand a change of policy on the part of those in charge of our navy yards and arsenals.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 19.—By Delegate J. F. McCormick:

WHEREAS, By a rider tacked on to an appropriation bill some years ago, the printers, bookbinders and other skilled mechanics of the Government Printing Office of the District of Columbia had their wages reduced from \$4 to \$3.20 per day, and have been striving from year to year, without success, to have them restored; and

WHEREAS, There is now a bill pending before Congress, which, if passed, will restore the wages of these employes; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of the District of Columbia by a unanimous vote, instructed their delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention to present a resolution requesting their assistance in obtaining this legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, place itself on record as favoring and endorsing the efforts of the employes of the Government Printing Office in the restoration of their wages from \$3.20 to \$4 per day; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to aid and assist these employes in having this legislation enacted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 20.—By the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America (the following bill):

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all man-of-war ships, cruisers, auxiliary cruisers, monitors, colliers, torpedo boats, torpedo boat destroyers, and all naval equipments must be constructed and erected in the navy yards belonging to the United States.

Section 2. That this act shall take effect immediately after the date of its passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21.—By the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America:

RESOLVED, That every agreement, settlement and contract entered into by any officer of the American Federation of Labor on behalf of any affiliated body must be in writing, and a copy of said agreement and contract be presented to the body in whose behalf said agreement, etc., was made.

Referred to Committee on President's Report:



Resolution No. 22.—By the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America:

RESOLVED, by this Convention, That we favor the system of having practical boiler makers and iron ship builders appointed as inspectors of boilers and steam vessels, and recommend that all of our affiliated bodies give their aid and co-operation in the fullest manner possible to the spirit of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 23.—By the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America:

RESOLVED, That Article V, Section 1, of the American Federation of Labor Constitution be amended by adding after the word "Treasurer" in the second line, the following: "to be elected by a referendum vote by the affiliated bodies during the months of August, September and October of every second year, nominations to be called for three months previous to the above-mentioned months, and all officers so elected to hold office for two years, and constitute the Executive Council of this organization;" and be it further

RESOLVED, That Section 4 of the same Article be amended so as to read: "The terms of the officers so elected shall expire on the first day of January following the taking of said referendum vote;" and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with these amendments are hereby declared null and void and repealed.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 24.—By J. F. McCormick, delegate Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity for a Universal Label is becoming more and more evident from the fact that the large number of labels now in use have a tendency to confuse the minds of not only the general public, but the wage-earners themselves; and

WHEREAS, By the use of a Universal Label the best possible results could be obtained with the expenditure of the least amount of effort, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, adopted a Universal Label upon a basis which will be mutually agreeable to all interests involved; that it is highly necessary that a design shall be accepted which could be included in the designs at present in use, so that it may be really recognized as the Universal Label of the American labor movement; and, further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary shall notify all affiliated organizations that the American Federation has adopted a Universal Label, and urge upon them the necessity of accepting same.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 25.—By Federal Labor Union No. 7010, Owensboro (Ky.):

WHEREAS, Knowing that the encroachment of women into the fields of labor is detrimental to the welfare of the American workman, and with the knowledge that woman is bodily incapable of continuous manual la-

bor without injury to herself and eventually to the coming generations of which she is expected to give birth, and that her rightful place is in the home, for which she is intended and best adapted, instead of in public life, and that we, as a union, should endeavor to prevent her from further injuring herself and future generations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor draft resolutions which shall be placed before Congress and thereby have laws passed by which our Government will remove all women in its employment, and thereby inaugurate a precedent for the removal of woman from every day walks of life and relegate her to the home.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 26.—By Delegate Charles L. Conine:

RESOLVED, That the label of the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods be and is hereby endorsed and recommended to the public.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 27.—By Delegate Charles L. Conine:

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, an International organization, chartered under the American Federation of Labor, have endeavored to more fully unionize the Leather Workers on Horse Goods employed by the United States Government at the arsenal in Rock Island, Ill., and other places, but have been unsuccessful on account of apathy on the part of the Government officials having in charge the departments in which Leather Workers on Horse Goods are employed; and

WHEREAS, The workmen are at variance with each other, thus affecting the good will, harmony and social conditions of the men employed; and

WHEREAS, By unionizing the shops we believe that the present conditions will be improved, and that a feeling of harmony and fellowship prevail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to wait upon the proper Government officials, and use their best efforts to have the department employing leather workers on horse goods unionized under the International organization known as the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; and after the department is so unionized, to have the union label of the above organization placed on all goods made in such department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28.—By Delegate Charles L. Conine:

WHEREAS, Information has been received from reliable sources that there are a number of independent organizations of Leather Workers on Horse Goods in existence; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods desires their affiliation with that body, but do not know the names and addresses of the officers, and at this time are not in a position to bear the expense necessary to send their organizers to the various cities; and

WHEREAS, The organizers of the American Federation of Labor are in a position to furnish the information desired, without incurring expense to themselves or this Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President shall give instructions to the organizers to ascertain if there is an independent union of Leather Workers in their districts, and should they find such to be the case, they shall ascertain the names and addresses of the officers thereof and send the information gained to the office of the President of this Federation, who in turn shall send it to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

#### DEFENSE FUND.

(New Article.)

Section 1. All organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall become participants in a common defense fund, by the payment of a per capita tax of five cents per month on each member of their respective organizations to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 2. No organization shall receive assistance from the defense fund of this Federation unless it has contributed to the same, as per Section 1, for a period of at least one year, and no person shall be entitled to benefit unless he was a member prior to the date on which the strike or lockout began.

Sec. 3. The assistance rendered to members engaged in strike or lockout shall be \$3 each per week, which amount shall not be payable to a member for more than ten weeks in any one year.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the right to refuse assistance from the defense fund to any affiliated organization; provided, however, that the union so refused shall have the right of appeal to the next convention.

Sec. 5. In case of request from any union for help from the defense fund, the Executive Council shall have the right to investigate the strike or lockout and endeavor to settle the same before deciding whether the request for financial support shall be granted or not. The expense of such investigation shall be charged to the defense fund.

Sec. 6. No support shall be granted to the members of any union from the defense fund unless they have strictly complied with the laws of their own organization.

Sec. 7. In the case of local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, no support shall be granted by the Council, unless prior to calling the members out the approval of the Executive Council has been secured.

Sec. 8. All moneys received by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the defense fund shall be carried on his books separate and distinct from all other receipts, and no appropriation from this fund shall be made for any purpose but that for which it was contributed.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegate J. E. Fitzgerald:

WHEREAS, For years past labor has been striving to pass laws which shall protect it from the many pressing burdens which our economic environments force it to carry; and

WHEREAS, In the majority of cases when a labor law is passed it is declared unconstitutional by the courts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall be, and is hereby, instructed to draft a bill and have the same introduced in Congress, that all bills, on presentation to Congress, shall be referred to the Supreme Court of the United States, which body shall determine as to its constitutionality before action is taken by Congress on all measures of a national character; also that in all bills presented to a State Legislature, they shall first be passed upon by the highest court in the State wherein the bill is presented for passage.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegate J. E. Fitzgerald:

WHEREAS, We, the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, in convention assembled, have been informed that the officers of the American Federation of Labor have been and are issuing charters to local Federal bodies whose membership is composed wholly or partly of horses; and,

WHEREAS, We feel that if this course is continued it will eventually become a serious detriment to the welfare of the labor movement, as we, as an organization, are not only too well acquainted with the impossibility of employer and employe to meet on equal terms under the same protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That believing it to be inimical to the best interests of labor and at variance with the principles and intent of the labor movement, which is, we believe, to organize the workers in order to give them strength to battle against the very men who are given our protection every time a charter is granted to an organization in which one or more employers hold membership, therefore, we earnestly recommend that no charter be given to an organization in which employers of labor hold membership and that all such charters now in existence be annulled.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegate J. E. Fitzgerald:

WHEREAS, From time to time there arise disputes among organizations in the American Federation of Labor relative to jurisdiction over membership and which have a tendency to weaken labor's forces, not alone in the organization interested but in all organizations; and,

WHEREAS, We believe that if the matter were referred to a number of impartial men, not officers in the Federation, that the questions at issue could be settled to the satisfaction of the contending organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That at each convention of the Federation a committee of five shall be

elected as an Arbitration Committee, to whom shall be submitted all disputes which may arise between organizations affiliated with this Federation, said committee to take the statements of the two or more contending organizations and render a decision based on the facts presented, and their decision shall be final and binding on all the organizations interested.

Referred to Grievance Committee.

Resolution No. 33.—By Bakers and Confectioners International Union:

RESOLVED, That the paragraph in the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor requesting its members to vote for a certain class of aspirants for political positions be abolished; however, should a majority of delegates at the Kansas City Convention hold it to be necessary for the American Federation of Labor to take an active part in politics, it be resolved to favor independent political action on a purely labor platform.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 34.—By Bakers and Confectioners International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is the supreme body of the trade unions on this continent, and its chief duty is to better the conditions of its members in their factories, workshops, mines, etc., in short, where their labor is expended, to assist them in getting their just share of the wealth created by them and reducing their hours of toil; and

WHEREAS, This aim will be reached earlier in proportion to the greater numerical strength, the larger the number of the laborers who are organized into trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The toilers have strength and intelligence enough among themselves to gain recognition of all their rights from society without the assistance of outside parties; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, To demand from the convention of the American Federation of Labor to instruct its officers and organizers to devote their chief efforts to the organization of the unorganized or badly organized crafts; and that earnest preparation be made for an economic movement for eight hours by next spring and that then an advance be made in some way to firmly establish the eight hour work day; and, further,

RESOLVED, To request the Convention to discourage the tendency which is gaining ground among the working people to rely on legislative enactments for the reduction of the hours of labor and the elevation of their standard of living, and to recommend them to use the valuable time, efforts and money spent on many such delusive measures and endeavors in the refreshing sphere of trade union aggressiveness.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 35.—By the National Steel and Copper Plate Printers Union:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of labor, That we demand that all United States Government paper money, securities, notes, checks and revenue stamps shall be printed in the highest style of the art of plate-printing from the hand roller presses so as to

secure the Government and the public against loss by wear and by counterfeiting; and the American Federation of Labor, or any persons or committee appointed to represent the same before Congress, are hereby directed to do all that is practicable to give effect to this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36.—By the National Steel and Copper Plate Printers Union:

RESOLVED, That in view of the evident mismanagement of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing of the Treasury Department, Congress is hereby petitioned to investigate and adopt such legislation as will prevent the debasement of the artistic character of its paper money, securities, etc.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 37.—By the National Steel and Copper Plate Printers Union:

RESOLVED, That we hold it as being the duty of Congress to see that the moneys of the people be not wastefully used in useless and extravagant experimentation with materials and machinery that has not been demonstrated to be a success in similar fields of occupation, and that the Government should conserve, rather than destroy, the legitimate arts in its workshops.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 38.—By National Tobacco Workers Union of America:

WHEREAS, There is a great lack of organization throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, Organizers of the American Federation of Labor receive little or no compensation for the work that is expected of them, and for that reason do not accomplish the work that should be done; and,

WHEREAS, One permanent organizer, kept continuously traveling throughout the country, organizing and agitating for union labels, would greatly assist the organizers now commissioned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council shall appoint an organizer and label agitator, who shall be kept continuously traveling among the unions, organizing new unions and agitating generally for all union labels; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in line 2, Section 1, of Article II, the words be so changed, as to read "one-half," instead of "one-third," as at present; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the additional one-sixth of one percent per capita be used exclusively to defray the expenses of the traveling Label Agent and Agitator.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 39.—By National Tobacco Workers Union of America:

WHEREAS, The National Tobacco Workers Union have adopted a union label, and its color is blue; and

WHEREAS, The same label is a true guide to friends of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers are endeavoring to establish a recognition for their label; and

WHEREAS, The same recognition will tend to better the conditions of the Tobacco Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its previous endorsement of the Tobacco Workers Union Label; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That members of affiliated unions buy no tobacco that does not bear the label of the Tobacco Workers.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 40.—By National Tobacco Workers Union of America:

WHEREAS, The American Tobacco Company, known as the Smoking Tobacco and Cigarette Trust, have been under the ban of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New York, after due consideration, endorsed the same sentiment as expressed by the representatives of the Tobacco Workers National Union; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has reaffirmed its previous actions at the conventions held in Cincinnati and Nashville; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Kansas City, Mo., again reaffirms its previous action; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending this convention take note of the same and assist the Tobacco Workers in their struggle against the monopolies and trusts.

Referred to Committees on Labels and Boycotts.

The Credentials Committee further reported:

On the protest against the credentials of Charles Dold, representing Piano Polishers and Varnishers your committee is of the opinion that Article IV, Section 1, is very clear and Mr. Dold admitting that he is a member in good standing in the Cigarmakers' International Union, is not entitled to a seat in this convention.

T. F. TRACY, Chairman,  
J. F. MULHOLLAND,  
HOMER D. CALL, Secretary.

Delegate Fitzgerald moved that the report of the committee be accepted and recommendation be concurred in.

On motion Mr. Dold was granted the privilege of the floor to speak in his own behalf.

After considerable discussion, participated in by a number of delegates, Delegate Donnelly moved that, as Mr. Charles Dold is not working at the cigarmakers trade, and is engaged in the making of pianos, the section quoted in the committee's report is not applicable, and that he be admitted to a seat in the convention. Adopted.

The Convention adjourned at 5:30.

## SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock by President Gompers.

Delegate O'Connell moved that the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

Adopted.

Roll call.

Absentees—Garrity, Tobin, McGuire, Woodbury, Cahill, Dresler, Warner, McBride, Kelley, Donnelly Strauss, Rife, Casey, Noonan, Donnelly (M.), Flaherty, Dugan, Fahy, Henry, Dalton, Morman, O'Neil, Reynolds, Sefferien and Simpson.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that Delegate Timilty be excused from attendance upon the convention until next Thursday.

Adopted.

Reports of committees were called for. The committees not being ready, the report of the Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain was read by Vice President Duncan, as follows:

To the President, Delegates and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—The fraternal delegates elected

at last convention to represent the organized labor of the United States in the British Trade Union Congress, which met at Bristol, England, last August 29, respectfully report—

Upon our arrival in Bristol, August 27, we were welcomed to Great Britain by the parliamentary committee of Congress.

Promptly at the time appointed on Monday, August 29, Congress was called to order by the chairman of the parliamentary committee.

Twenty years ago a similar meeting was held in Bristol, and a comparison between the two meetings represents the advancement in Great Britain of trade union thought for that time. At the Bristol Congress in 1878, there were 136 delegates in attendance, representing 114 unions, with an aggregate membership of 620,000. At the Congress your delegates had the honor of attending, there were present 416 delegates, representing 188 unions, with an aggregate good standing membership of 1,250,000. These figures also show an increase of 25 delegates since last Congress met, and representing 17 unions never before participating in these meetings. Of the delegates present there were five members of Parliament, 25 councilmen and 27 magistrates.

In dealing with legislative matters, the parliamentary committee's report showed that each of the principal subjects referred from the previous Congress had been divided among the various labor members of Parliament for introduction in the House of Commons, but it also indicated that little had been gained in that line; in fact, the report stated that it would be obvious to anyone who had watched the proceedings of Parliament during the last two or three years, that it was useless to expect any measures of industrial reform from the House of Commons as at present composed, for it was plain that any measure having for its object the improvement of the working classes, the strengthening of trade union principles or the prevention of monopolies, however fair and reasonable the proposal might be, was summarily dealt with and defeated in the end.

An important legal decision coming from the law lords, in the House of Lords, was reported, showing that by a majority of 7 to 3 the law lords had upheld a principle, union workmen had always contended for, namely the right of workmen to decide with whom they should work. The decision was all the more important and remarkable because it upset a previous decision of the Appeal Court wherein six judges against two gave an opposite opinion. The importance of this decision can scarcely be estimated, for it forms an important epoch in the industrial controversy when compared to the bitter attacks on trade unions heretofore made, with great energy, by capitalistic representatives of the legal profession.

The report also dealt with the death of three notable friends of labor during the year. First, Mr. Edward Harford, whom most of you knew both personally and by reputation, as he was a fraternal delegate to the last A. F. of L. convention. Second, Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who was recognized by the parliamentary committee as a man of sterling qualities as a scholar, a financier, an orator, a philanthropist and a friend of labor, difficult, if at all possible, to replace. Third, Samuel Plimsoll, spoken of as the sailor's friend, in whose cause his life had been spent, and as one who had done his best for the removal of social evils, and to bring about such reforms as would relieve suffering humanity and raise it to a higher and more dignified standard.

Delegate O'Grady, of Bristol, was elected president of the Congress, and his address to the delegates savored very strongly of Socialism, the different points of which were well received by the delegates, but it was apparent that it contained recommendations not wholly in accord with the audience. This was the more conspicuous as a motion of thanks for his address was qualified by the mover with a statement that while it contained a great deal with which the mover felt they were all in accord, it also contained statements that would require deliberative consideration before they could be approved.

Eighty-six resolutions were presented for consideration, but as the same subject was treated often more than once, the actual number of resolutions considered by the Congress was about 70, 35 of which were of a purely legislative nature; 18 appertaining purely to trade affairs and 17 to finance and of a miscellaneous nature. Among the resolutions considered, the following may be mentioned:

The law of conspiracy.

Co-operation and trades unionism.  
Amendment to the truck act.  
Electoral reform.  
Taxation of ground values.  
Factory legislation.  
Ranking of trade union funds.  
Compensation for accidents.  
Fair wages legislation.  
Public payment of members of Parliament.  
General eight hour working day.  
On international trade unionism.  
Eight hour bill for mines.  
Forced labor in colonies.  
Federation.  
Victimizing of railroad employees.  
Nationalization of mineral royalties.  
Railway nationalization.  
Compulsory education and free maintenance.  
Child labor in factories.  
Bi-metallism.  
Arbitration and trade disputes.

The Congress voted instructing the parliamentary committee to render every assistance to the joint committees of the co-operatives and the trade unionists in their plan to bring both movements into closer relationship.

The abolition of plural voting at parliamentary elections was approved, as also was a resolution calling for a tax upon the full true yearly value of land, whether used or not.

Factory inspection by men who have a practical knowledge of the work, was approved.

A favorable vote was cast on the resolution declaring for payment of members of parliament from the national exchequer.

Several resolutions were presented on the eight-hour question, all of them being approved. The first one considered was championed by Mr. W. Thorn, who is present with us at this convention as a fraternal delegate, and read: "Seeing that an eight-hour working day is one of the most important preliminary steps towards the ultimate emancipation of the working class and will lessen the number of unemployed, improve the quality of work and increase the health, strength and intelligence of the workers, we declare that the time has arrived when the hours of labor should be limited to eight per day in all trades and occupations in the United Kingdom, and that the parliamentary committee introduce into Parliament a bill to that effect. We also call upon the trade unionists to refuse to support in any way any candidates, either for Parliament or any local body, unless they are pledged to a general eight hour working day." The miners' eight hour bill was approved, as follows: "That the parliamentary committee be instructed to render all assistance possible to the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, in getting members of Parliament to ballot for the miners' eight hour bill, at the opening of the next session." The Durham miners who had heretofore been opposed to this bill, raised no objection to the above resolution, a few of them simply contenting themselves by registering a negative vote.

On international trade-unionism, the Congress resolved that, "With a view to drawing the workers of the world closer together, disseminating full information as to their position and conditions in their respective countries, the Parliamentary committee be instructed to make an effort to secure an exchange of the different association reports with similar associations abroad; to be the medium for arranging international congresses of cognate trades,

and otherwise to assist the international consolidation of labor." The debate on this resolution brought out the fact that nine nationalities already had printed documents showing their wage rate and conditions of labor, as well as the hopes and aspirations, from a trade union standpoint, of the workers in those nations, and that what the resolution desired was a consolidation of those forces by a central committee. It was further stated that, in line with the idea suggested, £28,000 had been contributed by the trade unions on the Continent of Europe for the British Engineers' strike.

A resolution was approved asking that the Government enact a law to the effect that trade union wages be paid in printing and book-binding the Bible. A delegate from Sheffield, in supporting the resolution, suggested, in a piquant vein of satire, that an effort be made to get an expression of opinion from religious bodies as to whether "the laborer was worthy of his hire."

A ripple of amusement was created over a resolution by a delegate of the London Waiters. It called for working men opposing the issue of licenses for refreshments and amusement houses unless said establishments granted their employes a six days' working week and the proprietors refrained from interfering with the waiters' wearing mustaches. The mover of the resolution claimed it was not the public but the manager or proprietor, who objected to a waiter's mustache. He supplemented this with a statement that this grievance not only came from the men, but from their wives also. It is unnecessary to say that this appeal to the delegates secured a unanimous vote for the resolution.

A representative of the London Shop Assistants asked support to a bill introduced in Parliament by Charles Dilke, providing for the uniform closing of all shops and stores at 7 o'clock three days of the week, 1 o'clock one day, 9 and to o'clock on the two other days, and all day on Sunday. It was stated that, if the law was passed, guarantee for its fulfillment would be found by working people refusing to make purchases after those hours.

A London delegate secured approval of the forty-eight hours Bakehouse bill, presented in Parliament by Sam Woods.

A resolution to increase the contribution of affiliated unions from £1 to £1 5s per thousand members was voted down on a very close vote.

A resolution suffered the same fate, asking the working people to boycott London and provincial newspapers printed upon foreign made paper. The purport of this resolution was to help home industry, the mover claiming that about \$15,000,000 worth of foreign paper was used in Great Britain annually, but the delegates, feeling that the world was the British market, refused, by a large majority to shut out foreign competition.

A Sheffield delegate enlisted the sympathy of the Congress in a protest against the introduction of a system of forced labor among the native races and territories under British control. His resolution declared such action to be wicked and unjust, a gross infringement of the rights of labor, and to be feared for its reaction upon the workers of the United Kingdom and Ireland, and a violation of the right of personal liberty which has been secured by law to everyone unconvicted of crime under the

authority of the British crown. The resolution ended with a declaration that the custom was the revival of slavery under specious names, and intolerable to British workmen. The Parliamentary Committee was directed to bring the matter to the attention of the Colonial Secretary, requesting him to put a stop to the evils complained of.

The resolution dealing with the nationalization of mineral royalties was amended by a delegate from the Scottish Typographical Society to read, "That this Congress, believing that the labor problem will be solved only when the land and means of production, distribution and exchange are held as common property, and that practical action is the best method to reach this end, recommends trade unionists to give their support, moral and financial, to the working class socialistic parties." A division was called on the amendment, and on a vote by card (similar to our system of voting by the numbers in our unions) the amendment was carried by a vote of 708,000 in favor to 410,000 opposed.

This action was followed by the passage of a resolution on railway nationalization which read: "This Congress is of the opinion that the time is now arrived when the railways of this country should be taken over by the Government, in pursuance of the act of 1844, and that the Parliamentary committee be instructed to press this matter upon the attention of the Government."

A motion committing the Congress to bi-metallism was negatived on a close vote. Many of the delegates explained that their constituents did not understand the question, and that the adverse vote did not mean they were opposed to bi-metallism. It simply meant they were not prepared to approve a resolution on which they do not consider themselves fully informed.

Your delegates would neither do themselves nor the British Congress justice if they left notice of the resolutions acted upon without reference to a motion made by a delegate from Leeds, on "Education and Public Money." The resolution specified—

First—That in the education of the Nation's children the workers should keep in view the democratic principle of equality of opportunity, and should not be satisfied until the highest educational advantages the country affords are within the reach of all.

Second—That as the community owes to posterity to see that no future citizens lack the requisites to the healthy development of body and mind, a measure be brought before Parliament empowering school boards to provide food for the starving and underfed children who are found in the people's schools throughout the country.

Third—That the half-time system be abolished and the school age raised to 14 years.

Fourth—That such reforms be made in the training for teachers as shall insure that in no case shall training the minds of children be entrusted to those whose minds are undeveloped.

Fifth—The cost of educating the Nation's children to be defrayed from the national exchequer, and should be met by the democratic administration of educational grants and endowments and a graduated income tax on all incomes over £300.

Sixth—That sectarian strife should be disassociated from the question of education, and



this can only be done by debarring theologians from raising sectarian strife, and the state providing for the teaching of secular subjects. It was carried.

During Congress week the large hall in which it met was totally destroyed by fire. Happily, no one was hurt. The conflagration took place at night. The fire originated in a factory near by, and spread from it to the large building. After the fire delegates assembled in a small hall in the building, which has not been destroyed in the fire, but so many valuable papers were burned it was found impossible to give the same consideration to some of the subjects as if the fire had not occurred. It was found that nearly all the documents appertaining to federation had been destroyed. For that reason and because of the importance of the subject, it was resolved to hold a special Congress in Manchester on Tuesday, January 24, 1899, at which meeting this subject would be the only one considered. The proposed rules for Federation then to be considered, read:

#### RULE I.—NAME AND OBJECTS.

1. This Federation shall be called the General Federation of Trade Unions.
2. The objects shall be to uphold the rights of combination of labor; to improve in every direction the general position and status of the workers; the consolidation of labor as a whole, and to secure unity of action amongst all societies forming the Federation.
3. To promote industrial peace, and by all amicable means, such as conciliation, mediation, references, or by the establishment of permanent boards, to prevent strikes or lock-outs between employers and workmen, or disputes between trades or organizations. Where differences do occur, to assist in their settlement by just and equitable methods.
4. To establish a fund for mutual assistance and support, and for carrying out the foregoing objects.

#### RULE II.—GENERAL COUNCIL.

1. The governing body shall be termed the General Council, and consist of two delegates from each society in the Federation.
2. The General Council shall consist of persons who are, or have been, *bona fide* workers at the trade which they represent, and are legal members of their trade societies, but no person can be a member of the General Council unless he is actually working at his trade at the time of appointment or is a permanent paid working official of his union.
3. The General Council shall meet annually or oftener if necessary, and shall appoint at the annual meeting a Management Committee, such body to consist of fifteen members, including officers (chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and two trustees), who shall be deemed the general officers of the Federation, their duties and terms of office, place and dates of meetings shall be defined and decided by the annual meeting.
4. One member only from each trade shall be allowed on the Management Committee.
5. The question of wages, fees, and expenses of General Council, Management Committee and Officers, shall be fixed by the annual meeting of the General Council.
6. On all questions of an ordinary character brought before the General Council, the

vote shall be taken by show of hands, but in the event of a poll being demanded, each society shall have one vote for every member paid for.

#### RULE III.—MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

1. The Management Committee shall meet as occasion requires, and shall discuss and advise on the various questions which may be submitted to them by the societies federated. When deemed necessary they may appoint deputations to visit the parties involved in any difference, to negotiate with a view to settlement previous to a dispute taking place.
2. They shall have power to grant benefit under the Federation scale to the extent of one per cent of the members paid for by any society; but when a greater number is involved the General Council must be called together by the Management Committee to decide as to the best course to pursue.
3. When the Management Committee finds that any question, such as named in clause two, or of equal importance, has to be submitted to the General Council, they shall call the latter body together within ten days from such time as the question has been discussed by them.

#### RULE IV.—DISTRICT COMMITTEES.

1. The General Council at their annual meeting shall decide on the localities where District Committees are to be appointed.
2. Each District Committee shall consist of two delegates from each society located in the district.
3. Such committees shall report within ten days their proceedings and be subject to the Management Committee, and the latter body shall confirm or otherwise the business transacted.
4. Any District Committee that may be dissatisfied with the ruling of the Management Committee shall have power to appeal to the General Council. Such appeal shall be sent both to the General Council and Management Committee one month before the annual or special meeting.
5. The officers' fees and the rent of room of the committee shall be paid from the Federation funds. Societies shall pay their own delegates' expenses on the District Committee.

#### RULE V.—MEMBERSHIP.

1. Every society making application for membership must forward to the Management Committee with their application printed copies of their rules, last balance sheet, and the amount of entrance fee, which sum will be returned if the society be not accepted.
2. Every society must have been in the Federation twelve months and must have paid twelve months' contributions before it shall be entitled to any benefit. The quarter recognized by the Federation shall end on the last day of March, June, September and December of each year. Every society must forward its contributions to the treasurer of the Federation within four weeks of the end of each quarter, and inform the secretary of the same.
3. No society shall be entitled to benefit whose contributions have not been paid within three months of being due, and not until thirteen weeks have elapsed after paying all ar-



rears. Membership of the Federation shall cease if the contributions are not paid within six months.

4. Any society desirous of joining, after the acceptance and adoption of this scheme of federation, shall pay 50 per cent of the average worth per member of the Federation, in addition to their entrance fee, but any society not in existence at the time of adoption of this scheme shall be allowed to join on payment of 25 per cent of the average worth per member of the Federation at the time of joining.

5. All societies who are members of the Federation must prove to the Management Committee that they are in a position to pay 10 per cent of their members (who are likely to be involved in any dispute) the benefit to which the members are entitled under the society's rules for a period of eight weeks, before the Management Committee can sanction the members coming on the Federation funds.

6. All business appertaining to the Federation must be conducted through the executives of the respective societies.

7. In the event of a society wishing to withdraw from the Federation, six months' notice in writing must be given to the Management Committee, which notice will carry with it forfeiture of all interests in the Federation.

8. Societies dissatisfied with the decision of the Management Committee can appeal to the General Council, and if still dissatisfied can appeal through the General Council and Executive of the respective societies in the Federation to the vote of the members. Should any case arise on which the Rules are silent, the Management Committee shall give a temporary decision, subject to the confirmation of the General Council, which shall be binding unless appealed against to the votes of the members of the various societies forming the Federation, whose decision shall be final.

#### RULE VI.—ENTRANCE FEE.

1. An entrance fee of one-half penny per member shall be paid by the respective societies to the Federation. Each society shall pay for ninety per cent of its total membership. Such membership shall be passed on the last quarterly return of each society, and every society affiliated shall send in a return of its total membership quarterly to the Federation.

#### RULE VII.—CONTRIBUTION.

1. There shall be two scales of contributions, termed the "higher" and "lower" scale. The contributions to the higher scale shall be sixpence per member per quarter, and to the lower scale threepence per member per quarter, which shall be paid by the respective societies on the same basis as the entrance fee, viz.—on ninety per cent of the total membership. In the event of this sum being inadequate to meet the outlay, the Management Committee shall have power to raise the contribution up to double the respective contributions per member per quarter, but not to exceed that amount.

2. If a larger contribution is required for any special purpose, the General Council shall submit a proposal to the respective societies composing the Federation, through the Executive Councils of each society, for the votes of the members to be taken thereon.

#### RULE VIII.—BENEFITS.

1. Societies shall be entitled to the under-mentioned benefits, provided always that the societies receive the approval of the General Council or Management Committee to any dispute before being entered on.

2. In the case of a small dispute which is likely to develop into a larger one, the society so affected may allow their members to work, under protest, until the society has time to consult the Management Committee as to their future procedure.

3. The benefits shall be 5s per week per member on the "higher scale," and 2s. 6d per week per member on the "lower scale," which shall be paid by the Federation to the societies implicated in disputes.

4. At the expiration of eight weeks of a dispute, or sooner if considered necessary, the Management Committee of the Federation shall have power to investigate the position of such dispute. If they consider any good can result from its continuation they shall have power to pay benefit as long as they consider it necessary.

5. No benefit shall be paid to any society having a dispute until such dispute has been in progress for six clear working days, that is, at the expiration of the twelfth working day, each society would be entitled to one week's benefit per member.

#### RULE IX.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIETIES.

1. In the event of any differences arising between any of the societies in the Federation on demarcation, interchange of members, or on any question, no cessation of labor shall take place by either or any part involved, and unless amicably arranged, by any means mutually agreed to, must be referred to a Board of Reference or Arbitration. If possible the parties affected shall agree on three disinterested referees; failing this, each part to the dispute shall appoint one arbitrator; the two arbitrators to appoint an umpire, and, in the event of the arbitrators failing to agree, his decision shall be final and binding. The referees, arbitrators, or umpires, as the case may be, shall not be selected from any trade who may come in conflict with either of the parties to the difference. If a Board of Arbitration be not appointed within one month of an application being made for a reference to arbitration, the Management Committee shall have power to appoint either arbitrators or referees, as the case might be. The Board, when formed, shall decide as to place of meeting, method of procedure, etc.; each party to pay half of the expenses, unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

#### RULE X.—AUDITORS.

1. Two Auditors shall be appointed at the annual meeting to serve for twelve months, who shall audit the financial transactions of the Federation each quarter, and report to the Management Committee and General Council.

2. The General Council may appoint a Chartered Accountant for annual audit if deemed necessary.

#### RULE XI.—INTERPRETATION OF RULES.

1. Should any difference arise as to the interpretation of these rules, the question in dispute shall be referred to arbitration. One

arbitrator shall be appointed by the Management Committee, and one by the society or societies aggrieved. These two shall appoint an umpire and the decision given by them shall be final and binding.

#### RULE XII.—ALTERATION OF RULES.

1. These rules may be altered, amended or added to by a majority of votes of the General Council at the annual meeting. Any society whose executive may have any suggested alterations or amendments to make, shall give three months' notice, in writing, to the Management Committee and forward copies of the proposed alterations. It shall be the duty of the management committee to send these suggestions to the societies in the Federation at least two months before the date of the general council meeting. This regulation shall apply also to any other propositions (except disputes) which are to come before the General Council.

#### RULE XIII.—DISSOLUTION.

1. This Federation shall not be dissolved unless with the consent of three-fourths of the membership of the societies composing the Federation.

To these rules thirteen minor amendments are offered, dealing principally with minor details and finances.

Delegates Thorn and Inskip, who were elected fraternal delegates to this convention, are now with us and are worthy of our kindest consideration. The Bristol meeting in great part resembled our own conventions, but it was noticeable that very little matter was introduced in the way of new resolutions, the subjects considered having been fully discussed by the rank and file of the unions prior to the meeting of the convention. Debate was limited, but under the circumstances it was not necessary, the delegates having been instructed, in nearly all cases, how to vote. Such forms necessarily facilitate business, but it is doubtful if in our conventions the same rules could be enforced, for it is unusual among the American people, especially trade unionists, to be strictly tied down to or governed by closely defined lines in the debate of questions directly affecting their interests. The presiding officer's bell (used instead of a gavel) had a powerful effect in keeping the convention in order, and it seemed to be an inherent quality of the British delegate to at all times and under all circumstances abide by and support the decisions of the presiding officer. This feeling of security in his position stimulates the president to fair decisions, for, knowing he is to receive the support of Congress, his aim is to make his decisions worthy of that support.

Congress remained in session from Monday morning, August 29, until early on Saturday afternoon, September 3, in which time it transacted a volume of business. During the week your delegates were each given two opportunities of addressing the meeting, and at times they would have cheerfully joined in debate on subjects of international character had it been a rule that fraternal delegates were so entitled. We take this opportunity of recommending that a correspondence be entered into, with the object in view of seating fraternal delegates in both conventions with voice and a vote similar to that accorded central

bodies in our constitution. In making this recommendation, your delegates feel that only upon questions of international importance would the privilege thus conferred be embraced, but the effect of such a movement would be far-reaching, and might be the forerunner of an international alliance, at least of English-speaking wage-workers, if not of the world at large.

It can safely be said that the success of the British trade-union movement in great part lies in the system of high dues, and in this country the organizations that have not already done so would do well to follow this example. On the other hand, careful investigation showed that, in the use of trade labels, we on this side of the ocean are far in advance of our co-workers in Great Britain. Among the many lessons that may be learned by a continuation of fraternal relationship, it will be found that none will be productive of better results than if the movement on both sides takes advantage of these hints for their mutual betterment.

Many places of industrial interest were visited, at all of which your delegates cheerfully complied with requests to participate in labor meetings, thus bit by bit aiding in the consolidation of the wage-earners' campaign for better conditions. In the opinion of your delegates, the labor movement of Great Britain is in a healthy position. It is as firmly established as any British institution, and with the lessons of experience as a criterion by which to lay out future procedure, there is no fear of our British co-workers making serious mistakes subversive of their rights as citizens, or of their interests as skilled or unskilled workmen.

This report would be incomplete without reference to the magnificent work being done in Great Britain by Lady Dilke and her corps of earnest workers as organizers of the women in industrial pursuits. This lady, instead of basking in the aristocratic circles to which her social position entitles her, occupies her full time in the organization of working women into their respective trade unions. She also keeps, absolutely at her own expense, several able female organizers in the field, perfecting the work she has personally started, and by this means a nucleus soon expands, and in time efficient work of this kind augments the trade organizations by the exact number of women workers in the industry. She has found that women make better trade unionists as members of mixed unions than in organizations exclusively of women. Their timid nature militates against them; but the chief obstacle is that, as soon as a girl's brightness brings her into prominence as president or secretary of her union, she is sought out by a "willin' Barks," who removes her from the competitive industrial field to adorn his home, and the work of filling the vacancy has to be again gone over, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

In conclusion, we thank the American Federation of Labor for the honor of representing the labor movement of our country in Great Britain, and trust that the present form of fraternal relationship will be continued until such time as a practical international alliance makes it no longer necessary.

Fraternally submitted,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
HARRY LLOYD.

Delegate Kent moved the report be received, referred to a special committee, and the thanks of the convention be tendered the Fraternal Delegates for their excellent work. Adopted.

President Gompers thereupon appointed the following special committee: Delegates Chas. T. Smith, John Witzell, J. J. Schmalz, W. E. McEwen, Adrian M. Jones, F. B. Monaghan and H. W. Bausch.

Vice-President Duncan read the report of the Executive Council as follows:

#### REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

To the Members of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates—Your Executive Council begs to submit the following report covering the most important features of the matters committed to our care by the Nashville convention, and also upon a number of the most important features which came under our consideration. Four meetings have been held since the last convention; one at Nashville, two at headquarters of the A. F. of L., and one at Kansas City. The *American Federationist* published extracts of the proceedings. The full minutes are copied in a regular book for that purpose, which is submitted to you with this for your consideration.

Fifty-eight circular letters, containing 82 different subjects, were submitted by the president through the mails for our consideration and action. These were of that character for which it was necessary to obtain our decision regarding matters of vital interest to our organizations, or propositions formulated by the President.

We commissioned Mr. Furuseth to proceed to Washington on the first Monday in January, 1898, to attend to his legislative duties in the interest of our bills before Congress, and directed Messrs. Gompers, McGuire, Duncan and Furuseth to confer with Congressman Gardiner in relation to the drafting of the eight-hour bill.

The large amount of legislation recommended by the last Convention made it necessary for the Executive Council to determine as to what should be given precedence in directing our most active work. The measures were determined in the following order:

- Eight-hour bill.
- Seamen's bill.
- Anti-injunction bill.
- Immigration bill.
- Anti-convict labor bill, etc.

It must not be inferred from this statement that any opportunity was neglected in furthering legislation upon measures approved by the A. F. of L. The subject of legislation is fully covered in the reports of the President and legislative committee, and we do not wish to burden this with unnecessary statements or repetition; but we most cordially recommend what now promises to be success on these lines be prosecuted with vigor. We would say that in order to aid in the furthering of our bills, and particularly the eight-hour bill, we authorized the President to select another competent member of one of our

organizations to co-operate with the member of our legislative committee, Mr. Andrew Furuseth. The President appointed Mr. George Chance, of Typographical Union No. 2, Philadelphia. Your attention is called to the report of the legislative committee, since it is deserving of your earnest consideration.

We regret to report that unity in the two factions of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America has not been achieved notwithstanding our very best efforts. At our meeting at Nashville a representative of the dissident element, Mr. Brickell, appeared before the meeting of the Council, but was unable to give any advice as to what should be done, providing a convention of the Brotherhood was held in March. We directed the President to correspond with Secretary Elliott with a view of receiving from him some definite understanding as to whether the convention would be held, and if so, whether some action, likely to bring about unity, would be taken.

At our meeting held February 21st an answer was laid before us indicating that unity would be encouraged by every action at Brother Elliott's command. Correspondence was conducted with Mr. Barrett, representative of the Lafayette faction. Learning that the Brotherhood would hold a convention March 14th at Buffalo, the Executive Council elected Vice-President McGuire to attend the same as representative of the A. F. of L. The following resolutions were adopted:

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Council advise and urgently recommend that each of the two representative National Organizations of Painters, both known as the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, shall choose or elect five representatives to meet in a general conference March 16, 1898, at Buffalo, N. Y., with full power to agree upon such terms of consolidation or amalgamation as will unite both bodies in one organization, and thus put an end to the present factional quarrels which are so hurtful to the welfare of the painters, and so damaging to the entire trade union movement.

"RESOLVED, That at this conference, after joint terms of agreement are therein adopted, plans shall be arranged for the election of general officers of the consolidated body by general vote of the members of the two respective National organizations of Painters, and that, after the general officers are thus elected, those now at the head of both of the present organizations shall retire from office.

"RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forthwith transmitted to the headquarters of each organization of Painters for further action, and President Gompers is hereby instructed to enter into correspondence with them to carry out the purposes of these resolutions."

Copies of these resolutions were forwarded to Mr. Elliott and Mr. Barrett in the confident hope that a solution had been found for the settlement of the Painters' dispute. Vice-President McGuire was unable to attend the convention at Buffalo by reason of severe illness in his family, and your President, with the approval of the Executive Council, substituted Secretary Morrison in his stead. The Buffalo Convention agreed to the resolutions, and selected a committee of five in accordance with its provisions, the officers being

elected upon the distinct understanding that they would resign immediately upon unity and amalgamation being effected. An interview was had with Mr. Barrett, and through correspondence he was urged to submit the proposition to his members. This was reluctantly complied with, and then only in a much altered form, and with an official declaration against its acceptance. Notwithstanding the official influence to prevent the membership from agreeing to the terms upon which unity could be affected, the propositions were defeated by a very narrow margin of votes. It, therefore, became apparent that the officers of the Painters' organization, represented by Mr. Barrett, were opposed to unity. At a subsequent interview with Mr. Barrett the latter point blank refused to consider the selection of any committee for the purpose of meeting a like committee of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, to discuss, much less devise, ways and means for the purpose of settling the controversy.

At a later meeting of the Executive Council the Painters' dispute was again gone over; and, while in session, we received a telegram, of which the following is a copy:

Lafayette, Ind., Oct. 24, 1898.

Frank Morrison, 423 G Street.

Will the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor allow a representative from our general board the floor at their meeting?

JOHN BARRETT.

Believing that it would be useless to have a representative of that organization appear before the Executive Council unless he was empowered to enter into negotiations for the purpose of unity, the following telegraphic answer was ordered sent:

Washington, D. C., October 24, 1898.

John Barrett, Lafayette, Ind.:

Unless the representative you send the Executive Council comes empowered to agree to the resolutions sent you from our last meeting in February, as a basis for amalgamation of the two painters' organizations, and can be here by ten Wednesday morning, you need not send him. Wire answer immediately.

FRANK MORRISON.

Finding that the Barrett faction was acting in an unfraternal spirit, and contrary to the interests of the Painters and the general labor movement, and that decisive action was essential upon our part, the following resolutions were adopted, and which are submitted to you for your consideration.

"WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, with headquarters at Baltimore, Md., decided at their general convention at Buffalo, N. Y., March 16, 1898, to accept the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council February 21, 1898, providing for a conference committee to arrange terms of amalgamation between the two conflicting organizations of painters, and appointed a conference committee for that purpose.

"WHEREAS, The seceding body of Painters, with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., has decided by a general vote of its members, not to appoint a conference committee and declined to accept the resolutions sent them by the Executive Council; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we recognize the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, with headquarters at Baltimore, Md., as the regular organization properly affiliated with the A. F. of L., and the organization of

painters, with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., as a seceding body from the regularly recognized body known as the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America; and,

"RESOLVED, That we request all unions and central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. to cease giving any encouragement, countenance, or assistance to any local union of the seceding body of painters with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., nor shall the latter body be allowed representation in any central body affiliated with the A. F. of L.:

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, in adopting these resolutions, does so only as a last alternative, after making every honorable endeavor to bring about amalgamation or unity of the two painters' organizations, and is firmly convinced that it is not at present the disposition of the seceding painters' organization, with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., to agree to any arrangement that does not involve the stultification of the parent body of painters now affiliated with the A. F. of L."

For the past few years the National Paper Hangers' Protective and Beneficial Association of America has made overtures, and at last applied for a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, however, claim jurisdiction, and protests against the issuance of the charter. Under the circumstances the Executive Council had no alternative but to concede the claim. However, the officers of the Paper Hangers' National Union asked that the matter be considered by the convention, claiming that if the decision be to recognize the Brotherhood of Paper Hangers, it should be binding upon all.

The application for a charter by Paper Hangers was further considered by the Executive Council at their session in Kansas City. Both sides were heard, and the Council, after careful consideration, decided that application for charter be refused, and that the Brotherhood of Painters be urged to grant the Paper Hangers of the country the fullest possible jurisdiction of their craft, but as members of the Brotherhood, to the end that the Paper Hangers can secure the best possible conditions for members of their craft throughout the country.

Finding that the offices theretofore occupied were too small, we in the beginning of the year authorized the officers to hire more commodious quarters at 423-425 G street, Typographical Temple, Washington, D. C.

Realizing that it is necessary for our fellow-unionists of Canada to obtain labor legislation at the hands of the Dominion Parliament, and that its members largely pay per capita tax to the National and International unions of which they are members, the Executive Council passed a resolution appropriating a sum of money not exceeding one hundred dollars toward defraying the expenses of the legislative committee of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We recommend that the convention now adopt a resolution authorizing the appropriation of a sum, not exceeding one hundred dollars per annum, for the purpose stated.

When the convention was called for the formation of a "Western Labor Union," or more properly speaking, a division in the labor movement of the country on sectional lines, we did all in our power to avert it, and finally requested Mr. Walter MacArthur, of San

Francisco, to attend the same. He, with Mr. John Kirby, of Ouray, Col., did excellent service in order to impress upon the minds of those present the inadvisability of division, when unity was so essential. We are gratified to state that the effort to bring a schism in the labor movement on sectional lines failed of its object, and that we earnestly express the hope that with proper efforts on our part, and a clear understanding of the underlying principles of our movement by our friends, the miners of the West, the re-affiliation of that national organization will soon be effected, and thus present a united front for all our demands and against the encroachments of labor's opponents.

In the early part of April, Mr. M. M. Garland, fourth vice-president of the A. F. of L., tendered his resignation. A vacancy then existing, and no provision in our constitution permitting of it being filled, we availed ourselves of the provision in Article 9, Section 8, which reads as follows:

"The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matter not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation."

We adopted the following:

"In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped."

This is reported to you for such action as you may deem necessary. In pursuance of this new rule, we elected Mr. Joseph Valentine, of San Francisco, fourth vice-president, but owing to the fact that the position he occupies in his own organization, the Iron Molders' Union of North America, requires him to travel almost continuously in its interest, he declined. We made no further effort to fill the position.

In connection with this subject we beg to say that with the view of giving larger representation to the different organizations in the Executive Council, we recommend that the number constituting the council be increased from seven to nine members.

We delegated President Gompers and Vice President O'Connell to hold a conference relative to the dispute between the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Association and the Box Makers and Sawyers' union, and endeavored to bring about unity. Inasmuch as the latter wanted absolute recognition as an independent organization with a charter from the A. F. of L. and would not accept a charter from the International union, the matter was abandoned. Later, however, the Box Makers and Sawyers' Union, with a number of local unions of the trade, made application for a charter as a national union. This we were indisposed to grant on our own authority, preferring that the matter receive the consideration of this convention.

It became necessary to revoke the charters of several Federal Labor unions by reason of their failure to observe the laws, principles

and policy of the A. F. of L. F. L. U. 6853, of Galveston, has given notice of an appeal from that decision to this convention. The revocation of the charters of several of these local unions was upon the ground that they had violated the provision that wage earners exclusively should constitute their membership.

We have also found that quite often members of trade unions, who are also members of Federal Labor unions, instead of encouraging and educating those less experienced, themselves take the helm and frequently insist upon being delegates to central bodies. The A. F. of L. adopted a provision covering this question for our convention, but we have omitted to make a like provision for local central bodies. Hence, upon appeal the President decided and the Executive Council approved the following:

"Only such *bona fide* wage workers who are not members of or eligible to membership in any other existing trade unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor unions to local central bodies."

We recommend the endorsement of this rule.

To aid our fellow workers of the District of Columbia, who were indicted for conspiracy under the so-called Anti-Trust law, we issued an appeal which brought a very fair return. The cases have not yet been tried, and much interest has been evoked as to its outcome, for it is the first case in which workingmen have been indicted under this provision of the law. The thought has long been entertained and expressed by us that the so-called Anti-Trust law, which was enacted presumably to control the great combinations of capital of the country, would at some time and is now being sought to cover cases never contemplated by those who demanded its enactment. It is evident that we shall require an amendment to the law, by which its provisions shall not be applicable to workmen engaged in any dispute for the protection or the betterment of their condition. And, it also teaches the lesson that extreme care should be exercised regarding new proposals presumably to curb the powers of combinations of capital, when in truth they are cunningly devised to strike a blow at the organizations of labor.

It is with a very great deal of pleasure that we report, through the instrumentality of the several members of our Council, large victories were gained in the interest of our organizations. Many disputes were adjusted, union establishments and conditions enforced, and in frequent cases the adoption by the employers of the union label.

We beg to report that the following firms, which had been placed on our unfair list, have, through the efforts of our movement, become unionized, and therefore removed and placed upon our fair list: Heldman, Heldman & Co., Clothiers, Cincinnati, O.; Imperial Milling Co., Duluth, Minn.; Central City Show Printing Co., Jackson, Mich.; Brunswick-Balke Company, Manufacturers of Billiard Tables and Bar Fixtures, Chicago, Ill.; J. W. Loose, Custom Tailors, St. Louis, Mo.; John Gund Brewing Co., LaCrosse, Wis.; National Cash Register Company, Dayton, O.; Lozier Manufacturing Company, Manufacturers of Bicycles, Cleveland, O.; Detroit Cigar Company, Detroit, Mich.; Lager Beer Brewery Companies of Rochester, N. Y.; Deutsche

Post, Cleveland, O.; Purington Paving Brick Company, Galesburg, Ill.; Gregory & Shaw, S. Framingham, Mass.; Harding & Todd, Rochester, N. Y.; Gould & Walker, Westboro, Mass.; American Brewery Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Erie Basin Dry Dock, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Harrington & Ouellette Cigar Company, Detroit, Mich.; Cluett, Coon & Co., Troy, N. Y. Many houses which were unfair have been removed from the unfair list by reason of their concession of better conditions or freer opportunities to organize. These by no means refer to disputes adjusted and successes achieved with the large number of employes, but who were not placed on our unfair list.

The following firms have, after due investigation and effort at adjustment, been placed upon our unfair list: S. Ottenberg Bros., Cigar Manufacturers, New York City, N. Y. (by Cigarmakers International Union of America); Grove Company, Chewing Gum Manufacturers, Salem, Ohio—Brands: Pepsin, Jersey Fruit and Fruit Flavors (by Federal Labor Labor Union, 6729); Jacob Beck & Sons, Pearl Wheat and Breakfast Flake Manufacturers, Detroit, Mich.; (by Trade and Labor Unions of Detroit, Mich.); Dugan & Hudson Shoe Manufacturers, Rochester, N. Y., (by Boot and Shoe Workers International Union); Mock, Merman & Co., Clothing Manufacturers, Cincinnati, O., (by United Garment Workers of America); Hirschorn, Mack & Co., Cigar Manufacturers, New Brunswick, N. J., (by Cigarmakers International Union of America); Swift Packing Company, Chicago, Ill., (by Coopers International Union); Jacob Dold Packing Company (now fair), Buffalo, N. Y., (by Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America); the Cincinnati Brewing Company, Hamilton, Ohio, (by National Union of United Brewery Workers); Levi, Horwitz & Lachenbach, Clothing Manufacturers, New York City, N. Y., (by United Garment Workers); Freeman Milling Company, West Superior, Wis., (by Coopers International Union of N. A.); all the Coal of West Virginia, (by United Mine Workers of America); Bondy & Lederer, Cigar Manufacturers, New York City, N. Y., (by Cigarmakers International Union of America); Fauber Manufacturing Company, Chicago, Ill., (by International Association of Machinists); Brown Tobacco Company, St. Louis, Mo., (by National Tobacco Workers of America); O'Brien Bros., Spring Bed Company, Chicago, Ill., (by Mattress Makers Union No. 6899); Shelby Steel Tube Company, Ellwood City, Pa., (by Seamless Tube Workers Union); Kingan & Co., Pork and Beef Packers, Indianapolis, Ind., (by Central Labor Union and Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. A.); Burden Iron Company, Rivets, Nails, etc., Troy, N. Y., (by Coopers Union No. 8, Troy, and International Union of Horseshoers of U. S. and Canada); Cobb & Co., Lime Manufacturers, Rockland, Me., Perry Brothers, Lime Manufacturers, Rockland, Me., A. F. Crockett Company, Lime Manufacturers, Rockland, Me., (by Lime Burners Union No. 7074); Marks Bros., (now fair), Harness and Saddlery Manufacturers, Omaha, Neb., (by United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods); A. C. Woodward's Abington Mills, Elastic Goring Manufacturer, Abington, Mass., (by Elastic Weavers Amalgamated Association); Patriot Printing Company Jack-

son, Mich., (by Jackson Typographical Union); John Rath Cooperage Company, Chicago, Ill., (by Coopers International Union); the W. B. Conkey Printing Company, Hammond, Ind., (by International Typographical Union); the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, (by Plate Glass Workers' Union, No. 6895); Carl Uppman & Co., Cigar Manufacturers, New York City, N. Y., (by Cigarmakers International Union); S. A. Weller Pottery Company, Zanesville, O., (by United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America); A. V. Haight, Publisher, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., (by International Typographical Union).

## UNFAIR LIST.

American Biscuit and Manufacturing Co.'s Biscuits; American Tobacco Co., Plug Tobacco: Battle Ax, Newsboy, Piper Hiedsick, Something Good, Pedro—Smoking Tobacco: Gail & Ax, Navy, Honest Long Cut, Duke's Mixture, Seal of North Carolina, Ivanhoe, Greenback—Cigarettes: Duke's Cameo, Sweet Caporal, Cycle, Old Jude; Apsley Rubber Co., Hudson, Mass.; Arena; Balz Brewing Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Banner Cigar Co., Detroit, Mich.; Berger Bedding Co., A. Weigel & Co., Mattresses, Milwaukee, Wis.; Bondy & Lederer, Cigar Manufacturers of New York; Boston Belting Co.; Boston Pilot; Boston Republic; Brown Bros. Cigar Co., Detroit, Mich.; Brown Tobacco Company, St. Louis, Mo.; Buffalo Barrels; Burden Iron Company, Rivets, Nails, etc., Troy, N. Y.; Chicago Stamping Company, Manufacturers United States Bicycle; Cincinnati Brewing Company, Hamilton, Ohio; Conkey Printing Company, Hammond, Ind.; Consolidated Steel and Wire Company; Cumberland Flour Mills and Liberty Flour Mills, Nashville, Tenn.; Derby Bicycle Company, Jackson, Mich.; Deucher Co., Hamilton, O.; C. Schreier, Sheboygan, Wis.; Maisters; Donohue & Heneberry, Printers and Publishers, Chicago, Ill.; Dugan & Hudson, Shoe Manufacturers, Rochester, N. Y.; Eitel & Cassebohn's Cigars, Louisville, Ky.; Farrar & Trefts, Boiler and Machine Works, Steam Engines, Buffalo, N. Y.; W. F. Fauber Company, Chicago, Ill., Fauber One-Piece Bicycle Crank Axle; Freeman Mill Company, West Superior, Wis.; Freie Presse, Chicago, Ill.; Fuller-Warren Stove Company, Milwaukee, Wis.; Geo. Ehret's Lager Beer; Geo. Mocles Cigar Company, Detroit, Mich.; Gobeill Pattern Works, Cleveland, O.; Gordon Cigar Company, Detroit, Mich.; Gormully & Jeffrey Bicycle Co., Chicago, Ill.; Rambler; Gross & Company, Cigars, Detroit, Mich.; Grove Company, Chewing Gum Manufacturers, Salem, O.; Brands: Pepsin, Jersey Fruit and Fruit Flavors; A. V. Haight, Publisher Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Harrington & Ouellette Cigar Co., Detroit, Mich.; Hart, Schaffner & Marks, Chicago, Ill.; H. Dietz Cigar Co., Detroit, Mich.; Heterman Bros. Co., Cigars, Louisville, Ky.; Hirschhorn, Mack & Co., Cigar Manufacturers, New Brunswick, N. J.; Jacob Beck & Son, Pearl Wheat and Breakfast Flake Manufacturers, Detroit, Mich.; Kerbs, Wertheim & Schiffer, Cigars, New York; Kingan & Co., Pork and Beef Packers, Indianapolis, Ind.; Kipp Bros., Mattresses and Spring Beds, Milwaukee, Wis.; Larkins Soap Works, Buffalo, N. Y.; Levi, Horwitz & Lachenbruch, Clothing Man-



ufacturers, New York; Lime Manufacturers—Cobb & Co., Perry Bros., and A. F. Crockett & Co., all of Rockland, Maine; H. L. Shepard, Rockport, Maine; Maple City Soap Works; Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.; Mock, Berman & Co., Clothing Manufacturers, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mock's Cigar Company, Detroit, Mich.; Monmouth Mining and Manufacturing Company (Sewer Pipe); Monmouth (Ill.) Pottery Company; O'Brien Bros., Spring Bed Co., Chicago, Ill.; Patriot Printing Company, Jackson, Michigan; Plant Milling Company, Geo. P.; Powell, Smith & Company, Cigars, New York; Quincy Show Case Works, Quincy, Ill.; Rochester Clothiers' Exchange; Rockford Chair and Furniture Company; Rothschild, Son & Co., Bar Fixtures; Royal Mantel and Furniture Co., Rockford, Ill.; Sardines—E. W. Brown, Gunrock Packing Company, Eureka Packing Company, Lawrence Packing Company, Crescent Packing Company, Bucks Harbor, Packing Company, Indian Cove Packing Company, of Lubec and Machias, Maine; Schneider-Trenkamp Co., Trenkamp Co., Cleveland, Ohio, Manufacturers of Oil, Gas and Gasoline Stoves, all marked "Reliable;" School Seat Company, Furniture, Grand Rapids, Mich.; S. F. Hess & Co., Cigars, Rochester, N. Y.; Shelby Steel Tube Company, of Ellwood City, Pa.; Sieg & Walpole, Bicycles, Kenosha, Wis.; S. Ottenberg Bros., Cigar Manufacturers, New York, N. Y.; Springfield (Ill.) Elevator Milling Co.; St. Louis Brewers' Association, Lager Beer; Strong, Garfield Co., East Weymouth Mass.; Studebaker Bros. Manufacturing Co.'s Carriages and Wagons, South Bend, Ind.; Swift Packing Company, Chicago, Ill.; Kansas City, Kas., East St. Louis, Ill.; St. Paul Minn., Omaha, Neb.; Swift's Sure Specific, Atlanta, Ga.; Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.; "Times," Los Angeles, Cal.; United States Baking Company; Venable Bros., Quarries, Lithonia, Ga.; S. A. Weller Pottery Company, Zanesville, O.; Western Wheel Co., Chicago, Ill.; Winter Bros. Brewing Co., Iron City Brewing Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; Eberhard & Obers Brewing Co., Alleghany, Pa.; W. L. Kidder & Son, Milling Co., Terre Haute, Ind.; Wm. Tegge Cigar Co., Detroit, Mich.; Woodward's Abington Mills, A. C., Elastic Goring Manufacturers, Abington, Mass.; Yocum Bros., Cigars, Reading, Pa.

We authorized and issued appeals in the interest of the striking textile workers, the wire workers of Cleveland and the Utah Eight Hour Law defense fund. The first-mentioned appeal was issued in aid of those having no connection with our organization, but owing to the wide-spread interest aroused, yielded a large sum. When another appeal was issued on behalf of our affiliated union, the National Cotton Mule Spinners Association, the strike had generally been regarded as lost, and hence the response was not satisfactory. There is some doubt in our minds as to the wisdom of financially assisting those who are unwilling to organize so that they can assist themselves, or who refuse to ally themselves with the national unions.

Having submitted to us the report of the President regarding the New Bedford strike of the Textile Workers and the Textile Organization, we refrain from more than referring to the matter herein, approving his report, comments and recommendations thereon.

It is with much pleasure that we report to you and congratulate organized labor upon the decision by the U. S. Supreme Court sustaining the Eight Hour Law of the State of Utah. We appropriated the sum of five hundred dollars to help our fellow-unionists of that State to defray the legal expenses incurred.

Several decisions have been rendered since, by State Courts, upholding the eight hour law of their respective states.

We have had numerous complaints as to the conduct of the National Union for Waiters, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League. Many charges of dishonesty were made against the officers of the organization; fraud was alleged in so many ways and in such vital instances as to compel us to undertake an investigation. We have notified those who have appealed to the American Federation of Labor to help them save the National union from utter destruction to appear before us in this city, and have furnished the officers of the organization, who are charged with holding office illegally and with the commission of these offenses, with copies of the complaints, inviting them to be present and give their version of the matters in question. The contending parties were represented at our session; realizing, however, that the work would encroach upon time which was not at our disposal, at our suggestion a committee of three of each side met for the purpose of arriving at some agreement. The next day the following agreement for an investigation was submitted, which we approve:

We all unite in urging upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. the expediency of a thorough investigation of all transactions of our general office for the present term and all preceding terms since Cincinnati convention of 1896, thoroughly satisfied that whatever the result it is essential to the peace and progress of our various organizations.

W. C. POMEROY, G. V. P.

JERE L. SULLIVAN,

Local 20, St. Louis.

FRANK A. EGGER, Gen. Sec.

MELVIN G. BOLLINGER,

Local 20, St. Louis.

F. C. LEWIS.

W. P. PHILLIPS.

After further efforts we persuaded the contending factions to agree to arbitration as well as investigation.

In view of the proposition made by the contending parties to the dispute in the Hotel and Restaurant I. U. and B. T. L. of A. we recommended that you sanction under your authority the investigation of the matters in dispute and the arbitration thereof with a view that entire unity of the craft may be re-established, and in furtherance of this purpose John F. O'Sullivan and T. L. Lewis were selected in behalf of the National organization officers, and Owen Miller and W. E. McEwen were selected by the appellants and complainants and we selected J. C. Darnell, subject to your confirmation, the five above named to constitute a committee to investigate, arbitrate and adjust all matters in dispute, and to report to this convention, Friday, December 16, 1898. The representatives of both parties have bound themselves to abide by



the result of the investigation and arbitration.

Complaints were received from local unions of the Retail Clerks National Protective Association, alleging improper conduct on the part of its officers. Upon request of proof, it narrowed itself down to action of the regularly constituted Convention. While in several instances the legislation enacted is regarded as detrimental to the organization and the interest of the clerks, we dismissed the complaint, but advised that the National Association undo, at its earliest possible moment, the legislation which is so likely to prove inimical.

Several of the organizers and members of the Executive Council have to quite an extent given their attention to tours of organizations in the middle West, the South and the far East. The Executive Council made appropriations from our funds contributory to this purpose. We endorsed the recommendation of the President that the subject of organizers for the South and West be given special consideration and encouragement.

The last Convention had under consideration a resolution endorsing a bill pending before Congress to grant suffrage to the residents of the District of Columbia, or rather a bill referring to the residents of the District of Columbia the question whether suffrage shall be granted. The Convention referred the matter to the Executive Council, with instructions to report to you. The Executive Council directed the President to undertake an investigation. He, with the assistance of Secretary Morrison, reports that two hearings were had, for which general invitations were sent out and public announcement made that all would be heard. Only those who favored the proposition appeared at the first meeting, and as a consequence, thirty letters were sent to known opponents, requesting them to appear. No one accepted the invitation, only one desisting to acknowledge receipt of the letter. One member of a union appeared to protest, not against the measure, but against the A. F. of L. taking the matter up. The testimony elicited was submitted to the Executive Council and the following is submitted to you as our judgment upon the question:

There are 280,000 residents in the District of Columbia. They are denied the right of self-government. They have no voice, no vote. A large majority of the *bona fide* residents have protested against their disfranchisement. The government consists of a commission of three members, appointed by the President, with an appointive judiciary, none of whom are responsible to the people. The lives and liberties of the residents are subject to the absolute control of those who exercise authority without a mandate from the people. The objectors to the franchise are that class of residents who exercise their franchise in the States. The disfranchised residents of the District have no power nor influence to change local or general conditions.

The Central Labor Union, and all previous central bodies in the district, have insisted upon the right of franchise, and demand that the question be submitted to the vote of the *bona fide* residents to determine whether the sentiment is in favor or against their claim.

It has been claimed that owing "to the large preponderance of negroes, the white residents would be out voted." This, even if true is unjustifiable; but investigation proves

that it is not founded on fact; that in truth a large majority of the residents of the district are of the Caucasian race.

It is held that the right of suffrage is an inherent right in the manhood and citizenship of our people, no matter where they may be located. It is true that in the early history of our country the Congress was practically driven from Philadelphia to take its place in Washington; but that was during a period when our government could scarcely be considered a stable one, for nearly a century the people of the District exercised the franchise; and only by political jugglery was it taken from them.

There have been some claims that the seat of government should be absolutely safe from local political influence; but attention is called to the fact that among the European nations the capitals are located in their principal and most populous cities, where the people exercise equal rights with the people of any city in their respective countries; and the British parliament within recent years conceded larger latitude for local self government of London by establishing the London County Council, which has been demonstrated to be not only an act of political wisdom, but economic and social advantage.

The Commissioners of the District do not require the contractors to pay the prevailing union rate of wages; in fact, they refused to do so. The contractor employer of cheap labor has, therefore, the advantage in estimates for labor over the fair union labor employer. It is asserted by those qualified to know that "in no instance has a municipal building been erected in the District of Columbia wholly by union labor," and "on public work done by the Commissioners without contract, laborers are employed to do the work of mechanics at a wage fifty per cent less than is paid organized workmen for doing the same kind of work for other employers. Protests or complaints by organized labor receive no consideration at the hands of the Commissioners.

In an official report recently made regarding the schools, it shows that nearly one-third of them are compulsory half-day schools, all of the juvenile and primary class, and embracing children from six to twelve years of age, while every facility is offered in the higher grades in which Greek, German, trigonometry, etc., are taught.

These matters are referred to as evidence that owing to the disfranchisement of the wage earners of the District they are deprived of advantages which are justly theirs, and without further argument, of which there is an abundance, we have no hesitation in recommending that the bill now pending in Congress for a referendum of the question of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia should receive the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor.

The following preamble and resolution, adopted at one of our meetings, are self explanatory:

Inasmuch as the continuous and overwhelming flood of boycott circulars sent to local unions indiscriminately without authority of the A. F. of L., leads to confusion and ineffectiveness in pushing unfair firms to settlement on union terms, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we disapprove of any local, national or international union sending out any circular calling for a boycott unless

the same is first endorsed by the A. F. of L., and in case a boycott circular is sent out without such indorsement, the Executive Council will feel justified in refusing to sustain the boycott.

The adoption of this resolution is earnestly recommended, in order that this formidable weapon of organized labor may not fall into misuse, and finally become ineffective.

Finding that the name and prestige of our organization have been exploited to base purposes by unscrupulous persons, we adopted the following resolution, which we recommend to your consideration and approval.

**RESOLVED,** That we hereby notify all business men, trade unionists, and the public generally, that no advertising agent or solicitor is authorized in any manner or under any pretense to solicit advertisements or subscriptions of money in the name on in behalf of the American Federation of Labor for any so-called souvenirs, labor directories or hand books. We further request the earnest co-operation of all affiliated unions in enforcing this resolution.

There are a large number of adjustments of differences and disputes between our affiliated unions and employers of labor, which, for obvious reasons of time and brevity, cannot be reported.

These are matters of the every-day work of the officers at headquarters and the other members of the Executive Council and our representatives. In view of misrepresentations, however, it is necessary to report upon one particular case, that is, of the Horseshoers dispute with the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company. The members of the horseshoers' union of St. Louis were engaged in a great strike for better conditions. The employers refused to grant them, and they were assisted in the struggle against the men by the Knights of Labor granting a charter to the unfair employers and their unfair men. The Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company employed union brewers and union workmen in all other branches of their industry, had their horses shod by an employer who belonged to the Master Horseshoers' Association and employed unfair horseshoers. At the request of the secretary of the Journeymen International Union of Horse Shoers of the United States and Canada, Brother Kenehan, President Gompers entered into a vigorous correspondence with the representatives of the Employers' Association, with the view of bringing an advantageous adjustment of the strike. This finally resulted in bringing the President of the National organization of employers from New York to St. Louis, and Secretary Kenehan from Denver to St. Louis to participate in the conference. Representatives of the local organizations of horseshoers and their employers met in conference, and President Gompers, by unanimous choice, was suggested as chairman and arbitrator. The conference lasted from ten in the morning until eight in the evening. It was evident that neither side trusted the other, and for that reason no adjustment was reached. The following day President Gompers, in company with Secretary E. Lewis Evans, of the National Tobacco Workers Union of America, located at St. Louis, visited the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, and had a conference with its managers. The demands of the men were discussed, and the request made for the firm to

either insist that the employing horseshoers concede the demands of the union, or otherwise to have the firm's horses shod by the co-operative association of union horseshoers. Mr. Busch conceded the demands of the men as being fair, and promised to comply with the request. Between this event and the time for its accomplishment, a few men, wholly apart from the officers of the International or local union of horseshoers, placed and insisted upon enforcing a boycott upon the brewery company until the expenses which they claimed they had made in prosecuting the same should be paid by the company. From all the facts in the case, it is plainly evident that President Gompers performed his whole duty in the matter and that the adjustment was secured through his efforts. This part of the report is ordered at the instance of the members of the Executive Council other than President Gompers.

Pursuant to your instructions, a committee, consisting of Vice Presidents McGuire and Duncan, made an exhaustive examination in regard to the Siegel-Cooper Company complaint. The representatives of the different interests involved in New York participated in the investigation, which developed in a conference with a view of uniting the labor movement in New York. The matter is not wholly completed, but hopes are entertained that advantageous results will follow. We recommend that the efforts begun be continued by the incoming Executive Committee.

The Executive Council resolved that hereafter commissions be not issued to any person unless belonging to a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A question was submitted to us by the Kansas City, Kansas, Trades Assembly, regarding jurisdiction of central bodies, as follows:

"If a union exists in one State and city, and its members reside and work in said State and city, can they ignore the central body of their respective community and affiliate with the central body of another State and city?"

The Executive Council answered the question in the negative as a general proposition. In so doing, however, there must undoubtedly be some consideration for certain instances and contingencies. In the city in which we now meet, the Kansas Cities of the States of Missouri and Kansas have their dividing lines upon points in which one building is located within the borders of the two States. Such conditions prevail in several localities throughout the country, and it is therefore exceedingly difficult to make a hard and fast rule covering the entire subject. We believe that so far as it is possible, the position taken by us should be observed.

We have received an application for a charter from the Loom Fixers' National Union; the National Textile Workers protesting. The matter has been referred to Vice President O'Connell for investigation and report, but the time has been too short within which to enable him to complete the same.

Application for charter was received from the Steamfitters and Helpers National Association, against which the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers protest. The same has received our consideration, but has not as yet been fully determined upon.

It is with pleasure we report the substantial

advantage in the interest of labor, our organizations and our movements generally, resulting from the location of the office at the Capital city of the United States.

Apart from a few of the matters reported, your attention is called to a letter written by the President of the A. F. of L. to President McKinley, and his (the President's) reference and recommendation of labor measures in his recent message to Congress.

In the dispute between the United Brewery Workmen's Union and the Coopers International Union as to which organization certain persons working in breweries should belong, we beg to say that the settlement of the matter by direct correspondence and negotiations of the officers of the organization have failed.

The question involved is the claim of the C. I. U. that all men using coopers' tools in the breweries shall belong to the Coopers Unions. The N. B. W. U. contend that all brewers must learn to tighten hoops so as to be prepared in cases of emergency; that this work is done casually by brewers; that in small breweries there is sufficient work for one cooper and that in large breweries the work is done by machines.

We are of the opinion, that where there is sufficient coopeage work for the employment of a cooper for the full time, such persons should belong to the Coopers Union, and where there is insufficient coopeage work requiring such persons to do other brewery work, they should be permitted to remain members of the Brewery Workmen's Union. We are fully aware that this is not an entire solution of the question in dispute, but if a spirit of fairness is manifested on both sides the hope is entertained that the matter will not be difficult of adjustment.

During the year the Building Laborers International Union became affiliated with the A. F. of L. Before this affiliation about fifteen local Building Laborers unions held Charters from us. We were desirous of turning these locals over to the international, but the officers of the latter insisted that these locals pay charter fees. Inasmuch as these locals had already paid charter fees to us, and that fifteen locals could be obtained by the International without effort or the expenditure of a dollar, we believed the claim unjust and the locals have not yet been turned over to the International. The matter is reported to you for such decision as you may deem just.

In all the matters coming before us as an Executive Council, or as individual members thereof, we have endeavored to perform our duties with the sole purpose of cementing the divergent forces of labor into the various locals and national unions, so the bond of unity among the toilers of our country may become broader, greater and more successful than ever in the work to obtain improved conditions for all. We have not always waited for the opportunities to come, but have often created them, when advantage for labor could be achieved.

With the conviction as well as an abiding faith in the success of the trade union movement, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, we urge all to continue greater efforts to accomplish the aims, the ennobling aspirations of the toiling masses.

Fervently hoping that this convention may surpass all others in achievements, as well as it has in numbers, and that the work we have

endeavored to perform may meet with your favorable consideration, this report is respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
FRANK MORRISON,

Executive Council.

Delegate Fitzgerald moved the report be referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report. Adopted.

Delegate Kidd, Fraternal Delegate to Canada, read his report, as follows:

To the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Federationists—The fourteenth annual session of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was held in the Parliament Hall, Winnipeg, Man., on Friday, Saturday, Monday and Tuesday, Sept. 16, 17, 19, and 20. After the opening ceremony at which the acting-mayor, a representative of the Dominion government, a clergyman and Mr. D. A. Carey, the President of the Congress, participated, the committee on credentials was appointed and the Congress adjourned until the afternoon, when the real work of the delegates commenced.

The report of the credentials committee showed forty-five delegates present, which was very encouraging, considering that the Congress was held in the far away Prairie City of the great northwest, and which militated against even a fair representation from eastern centers of population. By virtue of its geographical situation, however, the Pacific coast unions were enabled to be represented in greater force than at any preceding session.

It may not be inappropriate to here refer to the radical difference between the Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor. The aims of the two organizations are practically dissimilar. The congress does not take up grievances of unions against each other, nor does it care about the limits of jurisdiction claimed by affiliated bodies. Its whole effort seems to be directed towards securing favorable legislation from the Federal and Provincial governments, and organizing the workers of the Dominion wherever it can.

On the second day your delegate conveyed to the Labor Congress the fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor. That the action of our Nashville Convention was approved by our cousins on the other side of the line could be attested in no better manner than the vigorous applause that greeted the words of good fellowship and good cheer that fell from the lips of your representative and which were warmly responded to by President Carey.

The personnel of the Congress was above the average representative gathering, both physically and intellectually, while the debates were conducted with ability and dignity that speak volumes for the workers of the future in the Dominion.

The Chinese question is as much a problem in Canada as it is in the United States, and without exception the representatives from the Pacific coast were unanimous in urging the Congress to take the necessary steps to restrict the immigration of the Chinese. It was re-

ported by some of the delegates that Chinese workmen were employed in planing mills and interior finish factories at Vancouver, and that, as a consequence, the wages of white wood-workers have been reduced fifty per cent within the last two or three years. At the present time each Chinaman on entering Canada pays a head tax of \$50.00. The Labor Congress with the view of their absolute exclusion passed a resolution urging the Dominion government to increase this tax to \$500.

The eight hour movement in Canada is not being ignored and the active workers are persistently agitating for a shorter workday and are carrying on the fight with as much vigor as we are doing in the United States.

It would be unwise to deny or ignore the fact that a feeling of antagonism obtains among many of the active workers in Canadian labor circles toward the American Federation of Labor. Many believe that it is unfair for the International unions with which they are connected to pay a per capita tax to the Federation on their account, which they claim goes towards the support of a lobby in Washington. They say that the American Federation of Labor seems to be a purely American organization and cares nothing for labor legislation beyond the United States. That some attention should be paid to legislation in Canada they believe, and this legislation can best be secured by assisting the Congress to obtain it. The Labor Congress is essential to Canadians with a legislative distinct from, and institutions that have nothing in common with ours. And, if labor legislation is to be enacted it will have to come through the influence of a powerful Canadian Labor Federation. As nearly all of the unions affiliated with the Labor Congress are likewise affiliated with the A. F. of L., the former thinks the Federation should aid it in trying to secure remedial legislation.

In his report to the thirteenth annual session of the Trades and Labor Congress which was held fifteen months ago at Hamilton, Ont., President Carey, referring to an act to restrict the importation and employment of aliens which was passed by the Federal Parliament of Canada, and which he claimed called for more than mere mention, asserted that the law did not cover the ground, nor did it embody the aim of organized labor, although it appeared to meet with popular favor for the moment. He contended that what the workmen wanted was a law with a proviso that the term "alien" should apply to any person from outside of Canada. The present law having no practical effect except against persons from the United States, and is thus simply as a retaliatory measure. As the law states, "This act shall apply only to such foreign countries as ever enacted and retained in force, or as enact and retain in force, laws or ordinances applying to Canada of a character similar to this law." Mr. Carey contended that retaliation is not a dogmatic principle of organized labor in Canada, and the Congress favors the passage of a measure that will refer to all alike. The principal objection to the present immigration law is that it admits to the Dominion many whom the Canadians consider undesirable; and excludes many who are by no means obnoxious.

Our Canadian friends believe the principles of the Labor Congress are not properly understood by this Federation. As consequence I

was invited to meet with its Executive Board, and after hearing what it had to say, promised that in my report as Fraternal Delegate to your honorable body, I would have the aims and objects of the Congress brought before you.

The delegates at Winnipeg seemed to be intensely in earnest in trying to get the various cities of the Dominion thoroughly unionized, and are very anxious that the work of organization should receive the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, and that new unions should be instituted and attached to their respective national or international bodies. Canada offers a fertile field for the dissemination of union principles.

For the first time in its history the Congress adopted a platform, and while one or two of the planks may not be palatable to many of us, yet it marks a milestone in the pathway of progressive unionism under the Union Jack. The platform favors—

1. Free compulsory education.
2. Legal working day of eight hours and six days to a week.
3. Government inspection of all industries.
4. The abolition of the contract system on all public works.
5. A minimum living wage, based on local conditions.
6. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, water works, lighting, etc.
7. Tax reform, by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.
8. Abolition of the Dominion Senate.
9. Exclusion of Chinese.
10. The union label to be placed on all manufactured goods where practicable, and on all government and municipal supplies.
11. Abolition of child labor by children under fourteen years of age; and of female labor in all branches of industrial life, such as mines, workshops, factories, etc.
12. Abolition of property qualifications for all public offices.
13. Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.
14. Proportional representation and the cumulative vote.
15. Prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor.

The mining industries of British Columbia received considerable attention from the Congress, because the conditions under which the operatives labor are anything but congenial. Seven days work is exacted from those engaged in the mines, and the Executive Committee of the Congress having jurisdiction over its affairs in British Columbia, was instructed to urge upon the Legislature of that Province the passage of a law that will give to the miners a day of rest once every week.

The Congress will petition the Dominion government to refrain hereafter from employing Japanese and Chinese on the Pacific coast steamships in the capacity of stokers and other responsible positions.

Resolutions were adopted instructing the proper officials of the Congress to see that the government observed the spirit of the law, in manufacturing garments for the employees of the several departments of the Dominion and have them made under fair conditions and not in sweat shops.

There is in Canada a strong sentiment in favor of the union label, and all labels were indorsed. In marked contrast with this senti-

ment there was not a single boycott approved of, and the word boycott was scarcely mentioned during the four days that the delegates were in session.

Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

To urge the government to collect and publish labor statistics in detail, at least every three months.

To secure the abolition of all taxes on the products of industry and the concentration of taxation on the value of land.

To prevent the importation of contract labor into Canada.

To press the Dominion Government to supersede contract labor with day labor on all public works.

The principal officers elected for the coming year were:

President, Ralph Smith, M. P. P., miner, Nanaimo, B. C.

Vice President, John A. Flett, carpenter, Hamilton, Ont.

Secretary-Treasurer, George W. Dower, printer, Toronto, Ont.

Delegate To the American Federation of Labor Convention, D. A. Carey, newspaper writer, Toronto, Ont.

I think it eminently proper that mention should be made at this time of the loyalty of the Canadian trade unionists to their respective International Unions having headquarters this side of the line, and the same laudable interest is taken in the growth of our movement upon American soil as well as upon their own.

I cannot close this report without referring to an incident which shows how closely the organized workers of the two nations are combined. At a banquet given in the City Hall by the Mayor and the City Council, in honor of the delegates to the Labor Congress, at which many city, provincial and Dominion officers were present, one of the toasts on the programme was "The American Federation of Labor." The toast was proposed by a City Councillor, who coupled with it the name of your delegate. It was drunk with great enthusiasm, the Nineteenth Regiment band playing "Yankee Doodle" and the entire audience singing "For They Are Jolly Good Fellows."

During the five or six days that the delegates were in Winnipeg much time was spent in the evenings organizing new unions and as a result of our efforts the street railway employees, cigarmakers and boilermakers were organized.

There can be no question about the wisdom of your last Convention electing a fraternal delegate to Canada. Many small misunderstandings were easily explained away, and, by continuing to send fraternal delegates, misunderstandings of the same kind will, in the near future, cease to exist. The intelligent wage workers of both countries realize that their aims and ambitions are the same, and that while distinct flags may wave over their heads they should be as one in trying to achieve the industrial emancipation of the toiling millions.

Respectfully submitted,  
THOMAS I. KIDD.

Delegate Mahon moved the report be received, referred to special committee and

thanks of convention be tendered delegate for his efficient service.

Referred to Committee on Fraternal Delegates' Report.

The following resolutions were presented by unanimous consent and referred:

Resolution No. 41.—By Delegate Furuseth:

WHEREAS, Senate Bill 95, a bill to improve the condition of the seamen, to protect such seamen, and to increase commerce, has passed the Senate; and,

WHEREAS, This bill, though a great step in the right direction, still falls short of admitting the seamen to full freedom and equality with other citizens, in this, that the imprisonment for violating a contract to labor in a foreign port, in the foreign trade, is still maintained along with the old evil of allotment to original creditors. Therefore,

RESOLVED, That while we appreciate and are, on behalf of the seamen, grateful for this concession, we desire to submit that the seamen have earned and should be granted full personal freedom—the ownership of their own bodies—the full protection of wages signed for, and, therefore, respectfully request that Senate bill 95, be thus amended and passed at the earliest convenient date.

Delegate O'Sullivan for the Committee on Resolutions, reported favorably, and recommended that it be telegraphed to Congress, man Handy, signed by President Gompers.

Report of Committee adopted.

Resolution was telegraphed to Congressman Handy in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee:

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegate Kent:

WHEREAS, There is a clamor on the part of some of the capitalistic class and among others who are moved by solely sordid interests and ideas, in favor of what is called a policy of imperialism or expansion, meaning that this nation shall follow in the footsteps of the old world, own colonies and rule and tax weaker peoples without their consent, thus revolutionizing our history and traditions and pursuing a policy, the enforcement of which by George III, brought about the Revolutionary war, a policy calculated to demoralize American labor by bringing in competition with it classes of labor who do not understand the genius of our institutions, and who are at present almost devoid of those aspirations so necessary to elevate labor; and,

WHEREAS, The capitalistic or privileged classes have never been known to do anything to elevate mankind, and the burden of carrying on the struggle for better conditions for those who toil has rested on the shoulders of labor; and,

WHEREAS, Years of time and thousands of dollars have been spent in trying to organize, educate and assimilate those servile classes that have already in many sections of the United States displaced fairly paid American labor; and,

WHEREAS, Such a policy will mean the building up of a large army and navy at the expense of the producers, who not only will do the fighting but pay the fiddler, is essen-

tially undemocratic, and as ex-Premier Dupuy has lately said of the French army, "a menace to a republic." The attention of the people will be constantly turned from the study of the reforms now so urgently needed in our own domestic affairs to spectacular visions of conquest, along with which will come that inevitable cold commercialism that will tend to stifle our instincts of justice and humanity, human sentiment will give place to a universal sordid desire for gain; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the delegates of the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, That we are unalterably opposed to all so-called policies of imperialism, expansion, or colonization. While we are at all times anxious for this nation to take up the sword in the interest of the oppressed, when we do so we should not follow it up by holding in subjection as subjects people who have a divine right to govern themselves; nor should we annex countries not contiguous to our continent whose people have nothing in common with American civilization.

**Resolution No. 43.—By Delegate S. J. Kent:**  
WHEREAS, Under our present system of raising revenue to carry on the affairs of the government, the poor man, though he receive but little protection, care or consideration, is forced to pay a disproportionate share of taxation, while the banker and bondholder and the wealthy classes generally favored as they are of the nation, contribute but little to its support; and,

WHEREAS, An effort has been made in the past few years to impose a tax on incomes, the same being declared unconstitutional by the (in) decision of the United States Supreme court, thereby reversing former decisions of the same court and setting aside a right recognized the world over—the right to tax the incomes of the rich; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the incoming Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to demand from Congress the submission of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for a tax on incomes to the end that bondholders and corporations who neither fight the battle of our country, nor bear their share of the burdens of taxation be compelled to contribute to the Government that of late has been so lavish in its favors toward them.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 44.—By Delegate S. J. Kent:**  
WHEREAS, The virtue of the union label as a factor in driving goods out of the market that are products of unfair conditions and substituting goods made by fairly paid and fairly treated labor, thereby sustaining a higher standard of skill and of living for the American workman and those dependent upon him, and a higher standard of citizenship and civilization in our country, is acknowledged by all persons in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Its further value in educating a healthy sentiment in favor of union made goods is also admitted, but owing to many different kinds of labels now in use, and whose number will soon be legion, it is apparent that ere long it will be impossible for any ordinary mind to retain impressions of them all, and the result will be bewilderment and loss of interest; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the incoming Executive

Council advise with the heads of the different international organizations, and with their cooperation adopt a uniform label, to be used on all union made goods, the same to be adopted by all unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, and such label to be the only label recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 45.—By Delegate S. J. Kent:**

WHEREAS, There was reported by the House Committee on banking and currency, 55th Congress (and therefore on the Calendar of the House for consideration) a bill which purports to be a bill for strengthening the public credit, for the relief of the U. S. treasury and for the amendment of laws relating to national banking associations; which measure is sometimes called the McCleary bill, the Gage Bill, or the Hill-Fowler bill, and is known as House Bill 10,289; the principal features of which are as follows:

1. It creates a department of issue and redemption, in control of three comptrollers, who are appointed by the President for four, eight, and twelve years, and can only be removed on charges sustained by the Senate of the United States.

2. It provides for the retirement of \$346,000,000 in greenbacks, \$470,000,000 in silver and silver certificates and \$114,000,000 in treasury notes, in all \$930,000,000.

3. It provides that whenever any national bank shall deposit with the Secretary of the Treasury either a greenback, a treasury note, or a gold or silver certificate it shall have issued in lieu thereof what is known as a U. S. reserve note, which note, to be negotiable, must be endorsed by the national bank receiving it.

4. It provides that national banks may deposit bonds of the U. S. with the Secretary of the Treasury, to be used as a basis for the issue of bank notes to the amount of forty per cent of the capital stock of the bank, the option being left to the three comptrollers before mentioned to surrender to the bank, at the expiration of four years, the bonds deposited as security for the notes issued.

5. It further authorizes the national banks to issue national bank currency to the extent of forty per cent of their capital stock, such issue to be extended without limit upon payment of a tax of one-half of one per cent.

6. It makes the Government ultimately responsible for the redemption in gold of every dollar of such issues before mentioned, and all the security given the Government is a money reserve of 5 per cent of such issues. It is true that the Government is given a first lien upon the assets of the bank, including the deposits thereof (thereby placing the thousands of poor depositors at the mercy of bank wreckers.)

7. It gives the Secretary of the Treasury power to issue an unlimited amount of 3 per cent gold bonds, to provide a fund to meet the requirements under this bill.

**RESOLVED,** by the Delegates of the A. F. of L. in convention assembled (representing 600,000 of the wage workers of the United States, upon whose shoulders rest in a large measure the burdens of the Government in



peace and war, and who by their toil are compelled to support the idle bond-holder and the exploiting classes generally.) That the measure known as the McCleary, Gage, or Hill-Fowler bill, reported by the committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives of the 55th Congress, is essentially un-American and revolutionary, and if passed will deal a deadly blow at American liberty; for to delegate to private and selfish interests the supreme sovereign function of issuing the money of a nation is to place in the hands of such private interests the weal or woe of the people. The power to contract or expand the volume of currency is the power to make labor or property cheap or dear. It means, as stated by Mr. Walker, in the minority report on this bill, the formation of a gigantic money trust, that can rule the business and labor world with an iron hand. It is another step of plutocratic tyranny, which means if, unchecked, the subversion of the republic of the fathers; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be and are hereby instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to defeat this measure, so dangerous to the interests of the American laborer and to the perpetuation of American liberty.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate S. J. Kent:

WHEREAS, Bro. George Daggett, a member of Federal Union 6332, Lincoln, Neb., formerly a substitute Letter Carrier, has been discharged by the Post Office authorities upon charges preferred by one Edward Huffman, an expelled member of the same union; and

WHEREAS, Said charges are known to be wholly false by the members of Federal Union 6332, who stand ready to so testify. Brother Daggett stands convicted, and a cloud placed over him by the Government solely upon the testimony of a man without character or reputation; and

WHEREAS, in the labor movement an injury to one is the concern of all, and it is our declared purpose to protect the weak against the strong; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to look into the merits of this case, and appeal the same to the Civil Service Commission, not for the purpose of reinstating Brother Daggett, because he does not wish to work under such unjust employers as the postal officials are shown to be, but for the purpose of removing the stain now resting upon his character.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor commends the manly and courageous action of Governor Tanner of Illinois in the recent miners' strike at Virden, when the operators sought to destroy the Miners' Union by the importation from other states of cheap negro labor and hired Pinkerton thugs, a course which has usually been successful because of the active support of those in civil authority.

RESOLVED, That in this one unique instance of tardy justice to organized labor we

realize that the martyrs of Homestead and Lattimer have not died in vain.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 48—By Adrian M. Jones:

WHEREAS, The anti-scalping bill has recently been passed by the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C., by a small majority; and

WHEREAS, The same vicious bill is before the United States Senate and will probably come up for action before the end of the present session of Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, protest against the passage of said bill (or bills of similar character) as being a blow at the liberty of individuals, and classes it as legislation conceived in the interest of as gigantic combine and trust; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that a ticket purchased from any transportation company and paid for at said company's prices should, in all equity and justice, belong to the purchaser, and he should have the same right to dispose of it as of any other lawfully acquired property; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to transmit to each United States Senator a copy of these preambles and resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate W. D. Mahon:

WHEREAS, The last convention of the American Federation of Labor passed a resolution condemning the anti-scalping bill, introduced in the House by Mr. Sherman of New York, and appealed to Congress for its defeat. As you are all well aware the intent and purpose of this law is to restrict the handling of passage tickets to the authorized agents of the Traffic Association, combines and trusts, and to make it a penitentiary offense for any person to sell or deal in railway or steamboat tickets, or for any individual to buy a ticket except from the agent of the trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a railroad or steamboat ticket originally purchased of the company, and paid for at the company's price, is the property of the purchaser, and he has the same right to dispose of it as of any other lawfully acquired property; and

WHEREAS, The Lower House of Congress has, in opposition to our protest and at the bidding of the railroad corporations, within three days after reconvening, hurriedly passed this obnoxious measure, despite our protest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, this, the 12th day of December, 1898, in the city of Kansas City, Mo., condemn the action of the Lower House and appeal to the United States Senate to protect our rights and privileges by defeating this or any like measure.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate C. W. Coy:

WHEREAS, The manufacturing of commodities of commerce in state prisons and reformatories is increasing; and

WHEREAS, Improved machinery of the



greatest production is used in these prisons, operated by convict labor; and

WHEREAS, It is an utter impossibility for free labor and capital to compete with such unequal conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to Central Labor Union, of Louisville, Ky., do hereby protest against the States of the United States contracting their convicts out to be used in competition with free labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we deny states the right to injure our business or reduce our chances of obtaining an honorable living by compelling us to compete with convict labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand that the American Federation of labor, at its convention at Kansas City, Mo., take some decisive stand on this great question; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall formulate some plan whereby organized labor and its friends can make an organized fight against convict labor in every state in the United States; be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegate present a copy of these resolutions at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held in Kansas City, Mo., in December, 1898.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate J. F. O'Sullivan:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and hereby is directed to present a bill to Congress imposing an internal revenue tax of 50 per cent on all establishments where children under 14 years of age are employed or where minors and women are required to work more than eight hours per day, or forty-eight hours per week.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Chas. F. Bechtold and Julius Zorn:

WHEREAS, The experiences of the past year have given us additional and unmistakable proof that the legislative and judicial branches of the government are controlled by and administered in the interest of the capitalistic class, and that they are ever ready to sanction all efforts of that class to deprive labor of its rights and perpetuate economic injustice; and

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated during a period of many years that the professions and promises of the capitalistic and middle class parties are made only to be violated, and the confidence which organized labor has reposed in such parties has been shamefully abused; and

WHEREAS, The example set by organized labor bodies of England and other countries, wherein they have declared that the economic betterment and final emancipation of labor can only be realized through a strictly independent political movement, going hand in hand with the economic movement, is well worth our emulation; and

WHEREAS, Our fellow trade unionists of Great Britain, at their late Congress in Bristol, with a great majority vote resolved to recommend to all members of their organizations to extend their moral and financial aid to the Socialist labor parties; and

WHEREAS, We have in the United States the Social Democratic party, which is on record and is known to be heart and soul with the trade union movement as represented by the organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. recommends its members, and all others in sympathy with its aims and purposes, to join said Social Democratic party, and thereby aid the same in carrying out its noble object, the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a more humane and adequate system of industry to insure justice to all members of society.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate C. F. Bechtold:

WHEREAS, The International Coopers' Union of America, at its last convention in Chicago, Ill., once more failed to comply with the instructions of the convention of the A. F. of L. held in New York city in 1895, namely: to bring about the organization of the machine cooper shops of the country; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Coopers actually tries to misuse the power of the A. F. of L. in fighting a hopeless battle against the use of machinery in the coopers' trade;

WHEREAS, The National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States, which has always shown towards other trade unions its willingness to aid them morally and financially to the fullest extent of its ability, would now be forced to demand of the employing brewers throughout the country to buy the much higher priced and sometimes very scarce hand-made cooperage in preference to the cheaper and abundantly manufactured machine cooperage;

WHEREAS, This state of things has caused considerable trouble, not only to the coopers, and has only benefited the small cooper bosses; who have proven, as in any other trade, the most brutal exploiters of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention again instructs the International Coopers' Union to make preparations at the earliest possible date to have the machine cooper shops organized, and thereby get an opportunity to do its organization the most good by stopping the present condition in those machine shops and establishing such as may prevent the proprietors of the machine cooper shops from upholding slave-like conditions in their establishments.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate H. S. Mills.

Amendment to Article 10, by adding the following section:

No state, central, federal or local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor shall contribute, financially or morally, to any organization whatsoever not connected directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor unless otherwise sanctioned by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate H. S. Mills:

RESOLVED, That all applicants for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor coming from any branch or department of the textile industry be referred to the National Union of Textile Workers of America for final disposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the aforesaid National Union of Textile Workers of America shall be the proper source to determine what branch or department of the textile industry is within the jurisdiction of said National Union of Textile Workers of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate J. J. Schmalz:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has made the initiative and referendum one of its political demands; and

WHEREAS, The most progressive national and international organizations have incorporated these features into their constitutions and enact laws and elect officers through them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor incorporate in its laws, and all political demands and the election of all officers of the A. F. of L. shall be referred to and voted upon and for by the A. F. of L. general membership before the same shall be considered the united demand of trade unionists or said officers shall be entitled to hold office.

Adopted as read, and secretary ordered to furnish our delegate to convention with a copy of same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, Machinists in the U. S. naval service are of three classes or grades, the rates being "Chief," "First" and "Second" class. The Chief Machinist's duties are to see that the regular routine is carried out, to make all necessary repairs, or see that they are made while in port, and give a general supervision to all that is going on in the department. At sea the Chief Machinist is in charge of the watch below, and is responsible for the proper working of the department during his watch. He receives \$70 per month for his services. Machinist First-Class may stand a platform watch if deemed capable, and do such other duties that may be assigned to him, his pay being \$55 per month. Machinist Second-Class stands no platform watch, but must have the ability to make all necessary repairs. His pay is \$40 per month; and

WHEREAS, The pay of \$70 per month for Chief Machinist is not commensurate with the duties exacted and performed, he being in reality the working engineer of the U. S. Navy, and should certainly be in line of promotion to Chief Engineer; and the pay of \$55 per month for Machinist First-Class, and that of \$40 per month for Machinist Second-Class is far below the minimum rate of pay in any reputable machine shop in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse and urge upon Congress the enactment of the proposed substitute for paragraphs 16, 17 and 18 of House Bill 10,403, which provides for a more adequate compensation for machinists in the U. S. Navy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates James O'Connell, Stuart Reid and George H. Warner:

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, in session assembled on October 10, at Syracuse, N. Y., did amend Article 1, Constitution of said International Typographical Union, by adding as follows: "Non-printer machine tenders may make application for membership in this union, and subordinate unions are hereby empowered to admit such to membership irrespective of other laws and customs. After said date all machine tenders shall be members of the International Typographical Union. Non-printer members shall only be permitted to work at the particular subdivision of the craft at which they were employed at time of admission, and when issuing cards to non-printer members the Secretaries of subordinate unions shall designate that particular subdivision thereon." Inasmuch as above amendment to Article 1, Constitution of International Typographical Union, is a clear violation of one of the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor, viz.: "Preservation of the autonomy of trades; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Association of Machinists now employed in offices as machinists, have been encouraged and are now being invited by the International Typographical Union to secede from the International Association of Machinists and become members of the International Typographical Union; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union by said legislation is assuming jurisdiction of a class of work foreign to the printer, but embraced by the machinists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the delegates of this convention that all machinists in printing offices, or wherever employed, shall be directly under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Isaac Cowen:

Change to Constitution, Article IV, Section 3, third line to be changed to read as follows: "City central bodies shall have one vote for every one hundred members represented in such body who are chartered direct by the A. F. of L., and have paid their per capita tax up to time of A. F. of L. convention, and who are not directly represented."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Isaac Cowen:

RESOLVED, That this convention of the A. F. of L. recommend that the international, state, central and local unions take up the discussion of the King-Blatchford and Eyer

plans of financial federation, with the object in view of being prepared to formulate a better system of financial protection in times of need at the next annual convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Isaac Cowen:

RESOLVED, That any organization engaged in a dispute and considering itself aggrieved by reason of the members of another organization assisting to defeat those on strike by remaining at work or otherwise, may report their grievance to the Executive of the A. F. of L., who shall take such steps as the case may warrant, and should the charges be proven, the offending organization shall be charged with costs and suspended from representation at the annual convention for two years.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate J. F. McCormick:

(New Article.) Draft or Law for a Universal Label.)

Section 1. For the purpose of initiating and maintaining an effective, comprehensive and concentrated movement in behalf of the products and employment of union labor, the American Federation of Labor hereby constitutes the President, Secretary and Treasurer a Board of Universal Label Trustees.

Sec. 2. The Board of Universal Label Trustees shall, previous to May 1, 1899, determine upon a simple and artistic design, susceptible of the greatest possible reduction or enlargement, of adaptability to the greatest possible variety of circumstances, of instant recognition by the greatest possible circle of friends of union labor, and of application with the greatest possible facility by means of impression from a cut, stamp, brand, die-punch, mold or other tool or appliance. The design shall consist of a figure, surrounded by a border. To determine the particular organization or craft having affixed or applied the design, when such is desired to be done, an inscription of the name and number of the craft's organization affixing the design may appear, either in full or in code, directly beneath the design, as in the following examples of the cigarmakers' and iron molders' organizations applying or affixing the design to articles of their production:



CIGARMAKERS, NO. 1.

As further distinction of designs applied or affixed by different organizations, each organization of those using the design on paper labels (the same to be pasted on articles of their manufacture) may have a choice of colors, or combination of colors, in the paper bearing the design, and such choice of colors shall be regulated by rule of priority.

Sec. 3. Having determined upon a design

under the conditions outlined, the Board of Universal Label Trustees shall take such steps as may be necessary to acquire absolute property rights to the design, and to any cut, stamp, brand, die-punch, mold or other tool or appliance bearing the design for purposes of affixing the same. Under no circumstances shall they transfer such acquired property rights to any except their successors in office. The design, and any tool or appliance bearing the same, may be used only under the conditions hereinafter set out, and when worn out or for other reasons brought into disuse, they shall be returned to the headquarters of the board at the expense of the forwarding party, or disposed of according to the directions of the board. The board shall also proceed with steps for the legal protection of the design, either under Federal or State laws now in force, or under Federal or State laws to be enacted hereafter, or by both. In the event of infringement of the design, or use otherwise as indicated herein, or contrary to rules and regulations that may be made in addition hereto by the board, which the board is hereby authorized to do, the board is empowered to take all proper and lawful methods to have such infringement or improper use cease at once and prevented in the future.

Sec. 4. Within thirty days after the design has been placed under the protection of Federal copyright or registration laws, the Board of Universal Label Trustees shall notify the headquarters officers of all National and International organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and all local unions directly subordinate to it, informing them of the nature of the design and of the rules under which advantage may be taken of its use.

Sec. 5. The Board of Universal Label Trustees shall grant the use of the design only to organizations recognizing the authority and acting in the capacity of a labor or trade union under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, and every organization availing itself of the use and consequent benefits of the design shall conform to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and adopt the following procedure in acquiring the right to use the design. The parent body of a trade or labor union, in convention of representatives or by referendum, shall, by a majority vote, pledge its support of the Universal Label design, and instruct its National or International President and Secretary to



I. M. 24.

make application to the Board of Universal Label Trustees for the use of the design. Upon the making of such application, such President and Secretary of a parent organization shall have issued to them such tools or appliances for the affixing of the design, or lapel-buttons, badge-pins, shop-cards or placards as may be desirable for the particular organization making the application, the same to be

paid for from the funds of such applying organization, cash on delivery, at a rate covering the cost of manufacture, handling and transportation both ways, and an additional amount equal to 10 per cent of the total cost, the same to be covered into a fund for the payment of all costs of manufacture of tools and appliances, and expenses attending the establishment and protection of the Universal Label design. In the case of local unions directly subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, such local unions shall follow the procedure outlined herein to be pursued by separate National and International parent organizations.

Sec. 6. The manufacture of all cuts, stamps, brands, die-punches, molds, or other tools or appliances, to be used in affixing and applying the design, and of all shop-cards, placards, badge-pins and lapel-buttons bearing the design, shall be under the direct and personal supervision of at least one of the members of the Board of Universal Label Trustees.

Sec. 7. To properly guard against the design, or tools and appliances bearing the same, falling into possession of parties not qualified to use the same under the rules of this law, or under additional rules authorized to be made by the Board of Universal Label Trustees, the board shall appoint the President of each subordinate local organization using the Universal Label design a committee to be at the service of the board, whose duty it shall be to list, trace, take possession of and return, or destroy or dispose of all tools and appliances, or lapel-buttons, badge-pins, shop-cards or placards bearing the design, as the board may direct him to do, and failing to act under such directions, the board shall deprive the subordinate organization which is represented by such committee of one of the use of the design and of its consequent benefits.

Sec. 8. The expenses attending the compliance with the provisions of this law shall be advanced from the treasury of the American Federation of Labor, the same to be repaid from the proceeds of the "additional amount equal to 10 per cent of the total cost," provided for in Section 5.

Sec. 9. The Universal Label design shall be the emblem of all men and women subscribing to the general principles of trade unions as enunciated in the laws and acts of the American Federation of Labor; affixed to any article of manufacture, it shall stand as a guarantee that such article was created under the fair conditions of a trade-union workshop; adorning the walls of an establishment where personal service is rendered, it shall be the best possible assurance that such personal service is rendered by union men or women; worn in the form of a lapel button or badge pin, it shall entitle the wearer to the right hand of fellowship from union men and women of every trade, occupation or calling whatsoever and wheresoever.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate M. F. Bradley:

BE IT RESOLVED, That Article 12, entitled "Local Central Bodies," be amended by adding Section 5, In cities which have some imaginary territorial line dividing, only one central body shall be chartered.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Joseph Cahill:

WHEREAS, The firm of C. W. Miller, Coach and Baggage Express, of Buffalo, N. Y., has refused to recognize union labor; and

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Horseshoers have exhausted all honorable and amicable means to induce them to do so; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the action of the Horseshoers and render them all the assistance possible to accomplish their aims.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Max Morris:

WHEREAS, There was a protest filed with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor by several members of the Retail Clerks' National Protective Association in reference to the last National Convention held by said National Association; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a member of the Executive Council be instructed to attend the next convention of said Retail Clerks' National Protective Association, to be held in Kansas City, Mo., and use every honorable means to adjust all differences that may exist.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Charles F. Hahn:

RESOLVED, That the design chosen and adopted by the American Federation of Musicians be and is hereby endorsed as the label of the union musicians under the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate John W. White:

WHEREAS, Trouble exists in Boston, between Boston Local No. 11, National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and the management of the Columbia theater, the Hollis theater, the Park theater, the Boston theater and the Boston Museum, which we have been unable to adjust amicably; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, That we endorse the boycott on the above named theaters and all the traveling attractions of Davis & Keough, placed by the National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Owen Miller.

To add to Article XII a new section, to be known as Section 5:

Section 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on a strike, where such organization has a National organization, until the proper authorities of such National

organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Owen Miller:

To add to Article XII of the Constitution a new section, to be known as Section 6:

Section 6. Any Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, that has occasion to employ labor of any character whatever, either directly or indirectly, that fails to give such employment to the members of the trade needed in such employment, provided the trade needed is organized and affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body of delegates, shall lay the offending organization liable to suspension or forfeiture of its charter, at the discretion of the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate Owen Miller:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee is hereby instructed to use every legitimate means to secure the passage of House Resolution No. 46, introduced by the Hon. Richard Bartholdt, of Missouri, prohibiting the employment of enlisted men in the service of the United States in competition with civilians in any capacity whatever.

Referred to committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James A. Cable:

WHEREAS, The National Union of the United Brewery Workmen are using their label on non-union made cooperage to the great detriment of the Coopers' International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the National Union of United Brewery Workmen not to use its label upon cooperage that does not bear the label of the Coopers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate James A. Cable:

WHEREAS, After due investigation and attempt at settlement the boycott of the Coopers' International Union against the product of the Burden Iron Company, manufacturers of rivets, nails, horseshoes, etc., of Troy, N. Y.; the Cumberland and Liberty flour mills of Nashville, Tenn.; the Freeman flour mills of West Superior, Wis.; the John Rath Cooperage Company, of Chicago, Ill.; and the Swift Packing Company, of Chicago, Ill.; East St. Louis Ill., St. Paul, Minn. and Omaha Neb.; and

WHEREAS, No settlement having yet been reached between these firms and the union in interest; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its endorsement of the position taken by the Coopers' International Union, and calls upon all affiliated unions to use every effort within their power to bring about an honorable settlement with the firms aforesaid, and to refrain from purchasing the product of said firms until such time as such settlement is reached.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Thos. J. Elderkin:

WHEREAS, A larger merchant marine is desirable for industrial purposes and necessary from the standpoint of national defense as proven by the difficulty recently experienced by the Government in securing transports; and

WHEREAS, The present inadequate proportions of the merchant marine engaged in the foreign carrying trade are due mainly to those provisions of the navigation laws which restrict the privilege of United States registry to vessels built in the United States; and

WHEREAS, This restriction, while ostensibly designed to protect American ship owners from competition with foreign or foreign built crafts, operates in reality to give the few existing American ship builders a practical monopoly on their trade, and by artificially enhancing the cost of vessels, to debar Americans from engaging in shipping, or to compel them to sail their vessels under the false colors of foreign nations; and

WHEREAS, A further effect of this system is evidenced by the special acts of Congress, framed from time to time, admitting to United States registry foreign built vessels owned by American companies, thus establishing flagrant discrimination on the part of the Government between private parties, and vitiating the principle of the navigation laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the repeal of the navigation laws in so far as they militate against the purchase and operation by American citizens of vessels built in any part of the world, and the substitution therefor of provisions which will aid and protect and increase the merchant marine upon the basis of equal opportunities to all intending to participate in the business of shipping.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 74—By Wm. J. Gilthorpe:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America notices in this day's daily papers that the Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, of West Virginia, has introduced a bill in the U. S. Senate, the purpose of same being to prevent vessels of foreign make with an American register from engaging in the coast-wise trade; and

WHEREAS, We also notice that the Hon. Senator Geo. G. Vest, of Missouri, has declared in opposition to said bill, and has placed himself on record as being in favor of the destructive policy to the American mechanic of giving our ship owners the privilege of buying where they can get the cheapest; and

WHEREAS, If such a calamity were to happen that Senator Elkins' bill be defeated, then would follow such evil consequences as the closing of all ship yards in America and throwing twenty-three thousand of our members out of work, as protective America can not compete with free trade Europe; and

WHEREAS, Ship building is in its infancy in this country, and to throw obstacles in the way should not be tolerated, but on the other hand the government should aid our ship builders in every manner, and not the

free trade countries of Europe; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, by this honorable body, in convention assembled, That we endorse the bill as introduced by the Senator from West Virginia, as being the most beneficial to American ship builders and our mechanics, and pray that it may become a law; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we request the honorable Senator from Missouri to withdraw his opposition to the bill, in the interest of the American mechanic and American wages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Tobin:

**RESOLVED**, That two hours' time be devoted to such resolutions as are of a political nature, and that the time be equally divided between both sides to such questions, and that each side may agree to present arguments by such persons as they may select, and they may consume such time as they may agree upon, not to exceed the time limit of one hour to each side, and that the subject be made a special order not later than Saturday of this week.

Referred to Committee on Rules.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Harry Lloyd:

Amend Section 1, of Article III, by striking out the words "on second Monday in December" and inserting "the second Monday in April."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegate Thos. J. Elderkin:

**WHEREAS**, The seamen of the Great Lakes have to reorganize and use special efforts each spring to retain their organization and keep their membership intact; and

**WHEREAS**, They do not receive the assistance they should from organization closely allied to them, and affiliated with the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the different organizations that are closely allied to the seamen are requested to tender such aid as lies within their power to promote and assist the seamen of the Great Lakes in perfecting their organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Schmalz.

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, concur in and endorse the following declaration of principles:

The course of events renders it necessary for the industrial masses of this country to contemplate their present condition and draw the pertinent lessons therefrom.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The Central Labor Council considers the above quotation from the Declaration of Independence, written by the immortal Jefferson, as true and as applicable to the condition of today as it was a hundred years ago.

The government of this country, originally intended to be a government by, for and of the people, has passed from the hands of the same and is used by the capitalistic few, through their tools, the politicians, for the suppression and exploitation of the toiling many.

In vain have the people attempted, through a change of the ruling parties, to regain their power. It has been proven beyond a doubt that each so-called political party of this country (the Democratic as well as the Republican) is engineered and controlled by the money power. When in 1886 Grover Cleveland sent his famous labor message to Congress, the wealth producers and toilers of this country were led to believe that they had found their champion. But the author of this bomb, hurled in the very camp of monopoly, took alarm at the outcry he had provoked, and from that time forward sought in every way to counteract the effect. He has culminated his efforts in this direction with the infamous production of the "Omnibus Injunction bill," thereby pressing the last bulwark of the rights of the people, the United States Court, into the service of the monopolists.

The enthusiastic endorsement by the Republican party of this latest outrage perpetrated against the rights of the people by a Democratic administration, proves conclusively that in a conflict between Labor and Capital they are practically an organization ever shamelessly arrayed on the side of capital.

Unjust legislation in the interest of an overbearing plutocracy has curtailed the opportunities for honest, remunerative, productive labor to such an alarming extent that even under the most prosperous conditions we have in this country an army of over three millions constantly unemployed.

The protests, the petitions, the prayers of an imperiled people have not been heeded by Congress and Legislatures, where the lobbyists of the money power have always found an open ear and willing minds.

Notwithstanding the almost boundless natural resources of this country, pauperism has been established and developed and the pauper has by law been stamped as a tramp, a vagrant and a criminal, and he never can regain his so-called rights as a citizen as long as he can be used to help reduce to his own condition his brothers in toil. The enormous army of the unemployed is the constant menace, and the stronghold used by capital to more and more lower the standard of life of the toiling masses.

Both the Republic and Democratic parties have proved incapable of coping successfully their promises to the people, as laid down in their platforms have been repudiated time and again. The battle cries under which they succeed to gain supremacy, "Protection" and "Tariff Reform," are through the actions and deliberations of their representatives in Congress exposed as means to enrich the few. Other professions of solicitude for the welfare of the masses are equally false.

The United States Senate has become an open scandal, its membership being bought by the rich in open defiance of the popular will, and its influence and law-making powers



being sold to the highest bidders to the injury of the people.

In view of these facts, and holding the following to be true,

1. That all the great resources of life and wealth are created by nature and are designed for the free and equal use of all mankind;

2. That all wealth is the product of labor.

3. That the wealth created by labor by natural right is and ought to be the servant, and shall never become the master of labor.

We demand unconditional emancipation from the thralldom of capital, and ask for liberty, equality and fraternity.

And knowing that the people's arsenal of strength lies in the ballot box, properly and independently used, we hereby call upon all liberty-loving and patriotic citizens to sever their affiliation with the plutocratic parties, and aid in the advancement of a movement which will secure justice and righteousness, fraternity and equality to all.

And we firmly believe that in taking independent political action we are taking the only steps by which the rights of the people can be asserted, by which politics can be purified, and the reign of corruption brought to an end. We are striving for a great reform to relieve the masses from the sordid grasp of a relentless and soulless despotism—a despotism that enthralles labor, that prostitutes government, corrupts laws, defies justice, and robs the people.

Therefore, we hereby declare that we have severed and hereby do sever all former affiliations with the Democratic and Republican parties, and we pledge ourselves to the support and promulgation of the principles as laid down in this instrument.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates J. F. Mulholland and James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, The Gendron Wheel Company of Toledo, O., makers of the "Gendron" and "Reliance" bicycles; H. C. Tillotson & Co., of Toledo, O., makers of the "New Falcon" and "Yukon" bicycles, and the Gendron Mfg. Co., Limited, of Toronto, Ont., makers of the "Gendron" bicycles, have signed agreements for the use of the joint Bicycle Label of the International Association of Machinists, the Metal Polishers International Union, and the International Union of Bicycle Workers and Allied Mechanics, and by which they agree to employ only union labor in the bicycle departments of their various factories, and to place the label on the bicycles manufactured by them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, That it does hereby endorse the bicycles made by the above named manufacturers as being union made, and by which reason they are fully entitled to the patronage and assistance of all union men.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate George E. McNeill:

RESOLVED, That resolution No. 48 of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor be reaffirmed.

The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in the name of organized and unorganized labor, protests against the inhuman practice of compelling men to work seven days in succession. We protest and affirm that one day's rest in seven is an absolute necessity of human life—a natural law that cannot be broken with safety; that those who, by low wages or fear of discharge, compel the violation of this natural law are guilty before God and the people of a crime against the physical, moral and mental welfare of the human race; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call on all trade unions and trade unionists to agitate upon and co-operate with any and all associations to secure legislative enactments providing for one day's rest in seven. We protest against long hours, overtime and Sunday work, and demand that all who work shall have one free day of rest in seven.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate John Mitchell:

WHEREAS, We have learned by reports, and with deep regret, of the sad fate of a number of our brother workmen, who while contending for their rights as American citizens and wage earners, were shot down and cruelly maimed or murdered by the armed guards of monopoly; and

WHEREAS, We, the Executive Board of District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., have appointed a committee, consisting of Mr. Thomas Williamson, of Mt. Olive, Ill.; James Barton, of DuQuoin, Ill. and A. D. Davis, of Springfield, Ill., to solicit and collect a fund to be used for the support and care of the families of the deceased and wounded of the great conflict which occurred at Virden, Ill., on October 12, 1898; and

WHEREAS, We believe said fund should be liberally subscribed to and made a success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby endorse appeal as mailed by Brother A. D. Davis, Secretary and Treasurer, and hope all trade unionists will give it their support.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Sabine and Autler:

RESOLVED, That this Convention emphatically protest against the Government granting contracts for the making of army, navy or Indian clothing to firms not manufacturing upon the premises in conformity with the factory laws; further,

RESOLVED, That we protest against the sub-letting of such contracts by any firm, and that the above conditions be stipulated in all contracts awarded for the making of government clothing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John M. Hunter:

WHEREAS, We have learned of the labor troubles throughout the mining districts of Illinois, and of the action of Hon. John R. Tanner, Governor of Illinois, against the importation of convicts and unfair laborers to take the places of the union miners, citizens of his state, who were attempting to enforce the terms of an agreement mutually agreed upon by the representatives of the United Mine Workers, and mine owners; and



WHEREAS, We believe that the patriotic stand taken by Hon. John R. Tanner in protecting the rights, liberties and life of the citizens of that state against the invasion of an armed mob, had much to do with the ultimate success of the Mine Workers in the struggle at Virden, Ill.; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby express to the Hon. John R. Tanner, Governor of the State of Illinois, our heartfelt thanks for the noble stand taken and the precedent established by him for the cause of organized labor; and further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon our minutes and that a copy of the same be forwarded to the Hon. John R. Tanner, Governor of Illinois.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 84.—By Delegate J. H. Sullivan:

WHEREAS, An effort is being made in Illinois to indict Governor Tanner for refusing to call the militia out to aid the coal barons of that State in their effort to thwart the legitimate objects of the Mine Workers Union of North America; and,

WHEREAS, We believe Governor Tanner was within his constitutional rights in refusing the use of the state militia to break the coal miners strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Baltimore Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, That we entirely and unanimously endorse the action of Governor Tanner, of Illinois, in his humane and business like policy during the coal miners strike in that state.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent said Governor in order to show him and the people of his state that we hereby approve of his act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, about to meet in annual convention in Kansas City, Mo., be memorialized by this honorable body to pass similar resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 85.—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its previous action in advocacy of the establishment of Postal savings banks by the Federal Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to use all possible influence with Congress toward the passage of a Postal savings bank law, said law to provide that the deposit of said savings bank funds shall not be in national banks.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 86.—By Delegate J. H. Sullivan:

In view of the awful conditions under which woman is compelled to toil, this, the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., strongly urges the more general formation of trade unions of wage-working women, to the end that they may scientifically and permanently abolish the terrible evils accompanying their weakened, because unorganized

state, and we emphatically reiterate the trade union demand that woman receive equal compensation for equal service performed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate W. D. Mahon:

WHEREAS, The recent Spanish-American war has revived the possibilities of the building of the Nicaragua Canal; and,

WHEREAS, In capitalistic enterprises of this sort, the laborer is but a human machine or beast of burden, used in the construction of large private properties out of which the holders of bonds amass an unwholesome wealth, while the laborer, whose back-breaking, life-shortening toil creates the enterprise, receives the lowest possible wage for which he can be engaged, and at last is left stranded with impaired health, reduced strength and no opening for future work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the event of the enactment by Congress of a law touching on the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to endeavor to secure such features in the law as will protect the labor employed in the building of the Canal from the evils attendant upon such work; that the workmen may be supplied with all possible safeguards as to hygienic living, hospital conveniences and surgical service, and otherwise protected by reasonable hours of labor, and by all other safe conditions which will give them a chance to labor and live with every possible degree of comfort.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88.—By Delegate Frank B. Monaghan:

RESOLVED, That no firm be placed on the A. F. of L. "fair list" unless all persons engaged in the employ of said firm are members of the trade unions of their craft.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate Frank B. Monaghan:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Officers are hereby instructed to urge all organizers of the A. F. of L. to use their utmost endeavors to organize the steam engineers in their several localities into the International Union of Steam Engineers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate Frank B. Monaghan:

WHEREAS, Several local unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have members in their unions whose crafts are organized and refuse to compel said members to join the organizations of their crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and are hereby directed to insist that all local unions comply with the provision of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor on or before March 1, 1898, and if said local unions refuse to comply with same their charters shall be annulled.

RESOLVED, That in the event of any local

union failing to comply with the above, all affiliated central bodies and State boards are hereby instructed to expel from said central bodies any and all such local unions.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegate James Duncan:

WHEREAS, Arrangements were made by the Granite Cutters National Union early in 1897 for the full introduction of the eight hour day by all branches of that trade not later than May 1, 1900; and

WHEREAS, One third of the members in that craft are now working eight hours for a full day, and in support of whom it is essential the remaining two-thirds be brought to the proposed standard; and

WHEREAS, This action is in accord with the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the short workday; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the eighteenth convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby endorses the above action of the Granite Cutters National Union and tenders it all possible support in its effort for national introduction of the eight hour day in that craft as specified.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 92.—By Delegate J. G. Cain:

WHEREAS, Mr. Claud M. Johnson, the Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, has introduced steam plate printing presses in the Bureau, in violation of the expressed will of Congress, thereby lowering the standard and artistic excellence of the Government's securities and rendering more easy the work of counterfeiting;

WHEREAS, Mr. Johnson has expressed an intention to still further defy the authority of Congress and debase the art of money-making by the purchase of ten more steam presses.

WHEREAS, Mr. Johnson has been persistently and maliciously antagonistic to organized labor employed in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, and his policy of introducing steam presses has had for its chief aim the crushing of the Plate Printers Union, a subordinate organization of this body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that Mr. Johnson's attitude toward Congress and organized labor deserves the reprobation of all good citizens.

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor would hail with undisguised satisfaction Mr. Johnson's displacement by an officer whose zeal to win the favor of his superiors would not be tainted by extreme malevolence towards the workmen, whose art produces the highest standard of Government securities.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation are hereby directed to petition the proper authorities for his removal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Tobin gave a summary of the strike now in operation at Marlboro, Mass., and submitted the following resolution:

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegate Tobin:

WHEREAS, The shoe manufacturers of Marlboro, Mass., have posted in their factories

on November 10, 1898, the following Iron-Clad:

#### IRON-CLAD NOTICES.

Posted in the Marlboro Shoe Factories, November 10, 1898:

Because of the unwise and arbitrary method of interference with the conduct of this business heretofore pursued by the accredited agents of labor organizations which have caused financial losses, both to employer and employed, making it unsafe for those who manage the business, and are responsible financially for its success, to make contracts for materials, labor or for the certain delivery of the product—shoes—the proprietors of this factory hereby announce to all who desire to contract for the future performance of any labor therein, that after prices, terms and conditions of said labor are mutually agreed to, each shall consent in writing to the following:

"Having agreed to labor in Middlesex factory at . . . . . until November 19, 1899, upon certain prices and terms and with full knowledge of conditions existing in factory, I hereby further agree that I will not until November 19, 1899, either by myself or by joining with others, take any action, secretly or otherwise, with the intent to interfere with the continuous running of the factory; and that I will not recognize any authority which makes, requests or gives orders contrary to the letter and spirit of this agreement."

We claim and shall exercise the right to refuse to deal with parties not interested in the factory, by employment therein, but will gladly confer with employees either singly or by committee.

We shall exercise the right to hire or discharge for cause any persons, as the interests of the business require, and we shall make no distinction of party, race, or membership in any church, society or organization.

We trust and believe that all of the well-disposed industrious citizens of Marlboro, who have so long been our valued assistants in establishing and maintaining the industry carried on in Middlesex factory, will see the reasonableness of the above conditions.

Application for position will be received at the office on and after November 10, and the factory will open for business as soon as a sufficient number of employees are secured to run to advantage.

RICE & HUTCHINS (Incorporated),  
By W. B. RICE, President.

WHEREAS, The S. H. Howe Shoe Co., John A. Frye, John O'Connell and Rice & Hutchins, Marlboro, Mass., have refused to take down the iron-clad and submit questions of alleged high wages to arbitration, and have refused the good offices of the State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, and have proclaimed to the world that they will employ, in order to obtain employment in any of their factories must sign away their rights and liberties for one year, at a reduction in prices of from 15 to 40 per cent; and,

WHEREAS, The manufacturers named say they cannot make shoes at a profit at present wage lists, yet they offer to some individuals an advance in some instances of 20 per cent over present wages. Why do they do this? They expect that by appealing to the cupidity

and selfishness of some of our members, that they may secure sufficient numbers to cause a break in our ranks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Joint Council No. 8, representing the boot and shoe workers of Marlboro, Mass., most respectfully petition the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Kansas City, Mo., to proclaim the products of the firms named *unfair*, and request the members and friends of organized labor throughout the United States, Canada and Great Britain (Rice & Hutchins export goods to Great Britain) to abstain from aiding those unfair firms by patronizing their products.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that the resolution be acted on at once.

Delegate Tobin moved that the resolution take the usual course, and that in event of non-success of settlement of difficulty, the boycott be enforced and put into effect by the Executive Council.

Agreed to.

The following was submitted by the Committee on President's Report:

Your committee on President's Report recommend that all matters contained in the President's Report regarding eight hours be referred to a special committee, and further recommend that the accompanying resolution be immediately considered by that committee and reported on and sent to Senator Cannon of Committee on Education and Labor:

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth:

WHEREAS, House Resolution 7389, a bill to establish an eight hour work day in all work done by or for the Government, has passed the House of Representatives; and,

WHEREAS, It has been reported to the Senate by its Committee on Labor and Education; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we fully appreciate the action of the House and Senate Committee, and that we respectfully request the Senate of the United States to consider and pass this beneficent measure at an early date.

Recommendation of committee adopted and so ordered.

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate Duncan:

WHEREAS, The Eight Hour Bill, known as H. R., No. 7389, in its present form, now pending in the United States Senate contains the remedial provisions necessary to carry into effect a uniform eight hour work day on all Government work, whether done by the day or by the piece; and

WHEREAS, Delay in its enactment into law is not only not in line with the best interests of the great working class, but is a hindrance to trade and economic development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the eighteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, in Kansas City, Mo., and representing the wage workers of our country, hereby memorializes both branches of our National Government and the President of the United States to lose no further time in enacting said bill into law.

RESOLVED, That this resolution be telegraphed to Washington.

Referred to Special Eight Hour Committee.

Resolution No. 96.—By Delegate Donnelly:

WHEREAS, It has been reported in the newspapers of the country that an effort will soon be made by officials of the Postoffice department to secure amendments to the present eight hour law as applied to the employees of the Government in the various branches of the postal service.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounce and oppose any attempt to amend or change the eight hour law as applied to any department of the Government service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 97.—By Delegate M. J. O'Neil:

WHEREAS, Members of the Steamfitters' Protective Association of Chicago, Ill., have taken the places of striking members of our union of that city; and

WHEREAS, We most strenuously oppose the action of said association and feel that we have been unjustly treated, and have a true grievance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, are diametrically opposed to such usurpation; and further

RESOLVED, That the matter be referred to the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 98.—By Delegate Owen Miller:

In the name of the A. F. of M., I hereby prefer charges against the Trades Council of Birmingham, Alabama, for violation of Section 1, Article XII of the Constitution.

Specification: That the said Trades Council retains as a member of its organization an organization of musicians calling themselves "No. 52, National League of Musicians," a body not affiliated, and hostile to the A. F. of M., contrary to Section 1, Article XII, of constitution of the A. F. of M., and the said Trades Council refuses to oust them, although frequently requested to do so, and refuses to obey the provisions of the constitution mentioned above.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 99.—By Delegate Owen Miller:

Representing the A. F. of M., I hereby prefer charges against the Trades and Labor Assembly of Denver, Colorado.

Specification: That the said Trades and Labor Assembly of Denver, Colo., did, on or about November 27, 1898, order Local No. 20, A. F. of M., to go on a sympathetic strike and ordered the members of said Trades and Labor Assembly to refuse to patronize said local No. 20, A. F. of M., in spite of the fact that the said Local No. 20, A. F. of M., is prohibited from going on strike without permission of the Executive Committee, A. F. of M., and were under contract.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Delegate Dernel moved that all propositions

and matters relating to the adoption of a Universal Label be referred to a special committee. Adopted.

President Gompers appointed the following special committee to consider all matters pertaining to Universal Label: Delegates

Dernell, O'Rourke, Autler, Tobin, Witzel, Zorn and Lawler.

At 11:10, on motion the rules were suspended, and the convention adjourned until 2 p.m.

## SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p.m. by President Gompers.

Roll call taken.

Absentees: Garrity, McGuire, Woodbury, Mills, Strauss, Doyle, Rife, Henry, Dugan and Dalton.

Delegate Driscoll moved the reading of the minutes be dispensed with.

Agreed to.

The following telegram was received from Mr. Clarence F. Darrow:

Chicago, December 13, 1898.  
To Frank Morrison, A. F. of L., Kansas City, Mo.:

Could not to o'clock Saturday morning be substituted? C. S. DARROW.

Delegate Lennon moved the Secretary be instructed to wire Mr. Darrow that the time he stated would be acceptable to the Convention.

Secretary Morrison forwarded the following telegram:

To Hon. Clarence S. Darrow, Chicago:

Ten o'clock Saturday morning will suit Convention.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

The following was read by Secretary Morrison:

Washington, D. C., Dec. 13, 1898.  
Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., Strophe's Hall, Kansas City, Mo.:

Seamen's Bill passed House without amendment. Amendments relative to imprisonment, beaten by a vote of 125 to 105. Now goes to President. GEORGE CHANCE.

Telegrams from J. F. McBride and L. R. Thomas, regretting their inability to attend convention and sending best wishes for its success.

A telegram sending fraternal greetings and wishing success was received and read from the Social Democrats of Boston, Mass.

Peoria, Ill., Dec. 12, 1898.  
Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., Kansas City, Mo.:

On behalf of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, we send greetings to the officers and

delegates representing organized labor as affiliated in the American Federation of Labor. May the cause you have espoused, and which you have represented in this year annual meeting, by the conscientious trade unionists, receive a new impetus which will hasten the day when to be a member of the trade union will be regarded as a duty by all who toil, not only as a protector to their labor, but as a mark of good citizenship. The splendid success which has marked the progress of organized labor this year cannot help but bring cheer to the hearts of all representatives in your convention, and we extend to the officers and delegates, on behalf of our association in office and our membership upon the rail, our best wishes for a successful meeting.

F. P. SARGENT, Grand Master, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

A letter received from the Globe Tobacco Company, congratulating the A. F. of L. on its progress, and extending an invitation to hold its next convention in Detroit, was read.

Commonwealth of Michigan, Executive Office, Lansing, Nov 16, 1898.

The American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—We anticipate with pleasure the possibility that your great and most commendable association may assemble in our midst in the near future, and as Michigan's Chief Executive I most cordially invite you to hold your next annual Convention in Detroit.

The advantages of Detroit as a convention city are known world wide. It is probably unnecessary for me to dwell upon the numerous facilities for entertainments and amusement which can be provided by the beautiful City of the Straits, and I presume that you have been made fully aware of them through other sources and local invitations.

The industrial condition of Michigan is decidedly improving, and the interests of labor and its organizations are well taken care of and encouraged in this State.

During the past year we have had the pleasure of meeting and entertaining the two national organizations of Labor Commissioners and Factory Inspectors, and a keen interest in these industrial topics has been awakened as a natural consequence, and the general cause has been further advanced by the special efforts of our State Labor Department.

I personally assure you that if you decide to meet in Annual Convention with us that you will find yourselves in the "house of your friends," and that you will be royally enter-

tained both by the people and the press, as our papers have always been very liberal in the detailed reports of all National Conventions and assemblages of such important character.

Very respectfully,  
H. S. PINGREE, Governor.

The invitation from the Commercial Club to the officers and members of the convention to be guests of the club Tuesday evening was accepted, on motion of Delegate McCormick.

Delegate Mulholland, from the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials, having examined the credentials of John S. Kelley, of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas and Steamfitters, with forty votes, recommend that he be seated.

T. F. TRACY, Chairman.  
J. F. MULHOLLAND,  
HOMER D. CALL, Secretary.

On motion the report was received and delegates seated.

Delegate Mulholland, for the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials, having examined the credentials of F. C. Dickens, representing the American Flint Glass Workers, with seventy votes, recommend that he be seated.

T. F. TRACY, Chairman.  
J. F. MULHOLLAND,  
HOMER D. CALL, Secretary.

Delegate Shaffer moved that Mr. Dickens be given further time in which to hear from his headquarters. Agreed to.

Delegate O'Sullivan, for the Committee on Resolutions, made the following report:

Fellow Delegates—Your Committee on Resolutions, having performed its duty, respectfully submit the following:

The Committee offers the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 8:

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as previous action by the American Federation of Labor gives full expression to the demands of organized labor on the money question, we therefore recommend the reaffirmation of past conventions on the question.

Recommendation concurred in.

On Resolution No. 17, the committee reports favorably.

Moved by Delegate Gilthorpe that the Boiler-makers be included in the resolutions.

Delegate Lennon moved that it be amended to cover all the employees of the arsenal.

Delegate O'Sullivan claimed that the resolution covered all the employees.

Moved by Delegate Cake that it be referred back to be amended by inserting all other trades working at the arsenal.

Delegate Tobin moved that it be referred back to the committee to be amended to cover all employees, and that the words "American

Federation of Labor" be substituted for "incoming Executive Council."

Delegate Duncan moved that the words "I. A. M." be stricken out. Motion ruled out of order.

Delegate Tobin's motion to re-commit was defeated.

Delegate O'Rourke moved that the report be amended by inserting the words "employees regardless of their calling" after the word, "all" in the third line of the resolve. Amendment adopted.

On motion, the Committee's recommendation, as amended, was concurred in.

On Resolution No. 18 the committee recommends striking out the fourth "whereas" and striking out the word "dictation" from the second line of the fifth "whereas," and inserting the words "influenced by;" striking out the word "make" in the same line and inserting the word "have;" striking out the word "themselves," in the following line; striking out the words "any and" in the third line of the resolve and striking out the word "slavery" and inserting the word "employment" so that the resolution will read as follows:

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegate James O'Connell:

WHEREAS, The United States Government (through their directing boards of the various navy yards and arsenals) have for the past two years made an effort to introduce the two-machine and piecework system; and,

WHEREAS, These obnoxious systems are not tolerated in the private machine shops throughout the country, except in isolated institutions now under the ban of the International Association of Machinists; and

WHEREAS, The said International Association of Machinists, recognizing the harmful effects of the above mentioned practices, not on the craft alone, but on society at large, inasmuch as the piecework system lowers the standard of living by reducing wages, while the two-machine system crowds the already overstocked market with unemployed, by seeking to have one man perform the labor that should be done by two; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists have for several years steadily and consistently fought these innovations, not only by organized resistance but have refused to allow its members to work under such regulations; and

WHEREAS, We regard the present attitude of the Government to be the result of influence by manufacturers, who seek to have the Government accomplish that which they have failed to gain; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That we the International Association Machinists, do hereby request that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to use all means in its power to assist us in abolishing this sort of employment from all government shops, and we do request also

the moral support of each delegate to the extent of petitioning the Senators and Congressmen in their respective districts to demand a change of policy on the part of those in charge of our navy yards and arsenals.

On motion, report of the committee was adopted.

On Resolution No. 4, your committee recommends striking out the third whereas.

Adopted.

Adopted as amended.

Resolution No. 20, the committee recommends striking out the word "must" in the fourth line and inserting the words, "For use of the United States Government, shall."

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 22, committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 25, committee reports unfavorably.

Delegate O'Connell moved to concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate Lossie suggested that discussion of the subject be made a special order at a later day.

Delegate Fitzgerald moved that the proposition lie over and be made special order for 3 p.m., Thursday.

Delegate Lennon opposed the motion to postpone. If the delegate was not prepared to discuss the question now he never would be. Trade unionists were opposed to the resolutions and were prepared to vote immediately.

Delegate O'Connell was opposed to postponing action on the question.

Delegate Fitzgerald asked permission to withdraw his motion to defer.

Delegate Kelley objected.

Delegate O'Sullivan stated the committee was unanimous on the report submitted and arrived at a decision without much discussion.

Delegate Fitzgerald again requested permission to withdraw his motion to defer, which was granted.

Delegate McNeill said the preamble prefacing the resolution was a severe indictment of prevailing conditions. He favored the preamble, but was opposed to the resolution, which he considered silly. Where women are employed in mills and factories the child is competing with the mother, the mother with the father. You can find the father at home and the mother away at work. Let us consider this question soberly, for it is a serious one. Women should not be compelled to work.

The system is atrocious and the wages are small and insufficient.

Delegate Kirby stated that the union of which he was a member had instructed him to vote against any system that would bring a woman down to any lower position, and hoped the resolution would go down to an ignominious death.

Delegate Bowman was opposed to women entering into competition with men as wage earners.

Delegate Mahon called attention to the fact that the resolution applied only to women employed by the Government.

Delegate Lossie stated that women are now employed in Government positions at a salary of about \$900 per annum, taking the places of men who formerly received \$1,400 to \$1,500.

Delegate Brown said we had no right to deprive women of the privilege to earn an honest living. Women who work are compelled to do so to support themselves and those dependent upon them.

Delegate Keith said that on the condition of the women in the home depends the future of the trade unionists. Let us find some way to do away with child labor and educate the children.

Delegate Elderkin moved the previous question which was agreed to.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted and the resolution defeated.

Committee recommends that Resolution No. 27 be referred to the Committee on Organization. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 10 committee recommends that it be approved. Concurred in.

The Committee on President's Report submitted the following:

We, your Committee on President's Report, fully endorse the action of the President and Executive Council in their action on the appointment of the Industrial Commission, and we heartily concur in the President's proposition to appoint a special committee to deal with this commission and its contemplated work, and to bring in a full and comprehensive report to this Convention.

Respectfully submitted,  
MARTIN FOX, Chairman,  
HARRY LLOYD,  
THOMAS F. TRACY,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
O. E. WOODBURY,  
HENRY S. MILLS,  
P. F. DOYLE, Secretary.

Concurred in.

In accordance with the committee's report, President Gompers appointed the following committee on Industrial Commission: George E. McNeill, W. D. Mahon, W. O. Moore, Charles Lawyer, Frank Brown, George Henry, and John S. Kelley.

It was moved and adopted that 10 o'clock be made the hour to hear the addresses of the Fraternal Delegates.

Delegate Cable, at 5 p.m., moved that the Convention do now adjourn.  
Adopted.

### THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

Convention called to order at 9 a.m. by President Gompers.

Roll Call.

Absentees—McGuire, Dalton, Morman, Reynolds, Maher, Innis and Simpson.

On motion of Delegate McCormick, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The Committee on Organization submitted the following report:

To the Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Organization beg leave to report on the following resolutions:

On Resolution No. 9, the committee recommends the adoption of said resolution, amended as follows:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs the incoming Executive Council to appropriate sufficient moneys from the treasury to defray the necessary expenses of an organizer, to be employed and sent into those inter-mountain States and Territories to organize into Local, Federal, National and International unions the wage earners of those States and Territories west of the Missouri River; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That an appropriation of sufficient moneys be made from the Treasury of the American Federation of Labor to defray the expenses of the incoming President, and that he be ordered to visit, as far as practicable, in advance of the organizer, the principal cities, towns and mining camps in the territory mentioned, at as early a date as possible, to advise and instruct the wage earners of that region.

Delegate John B. Lennon moved that the incoming Executive Council be authorized to levy a 2-cent assessment on the members to enable the Council to carry out the recommendations contained in the resolution.

Delegate S. J. Kent stated that it was the intention of the committee to make such recommendations at a later date.

Upon this assurance being given, Delegate Lennon withdrew his motion.

Delegate Owen Miller moved to amend by striking out the word "Missouri" in the last line of the first resolve and inserting "Mississippi." Adopted.

Report of committee as amended concurred in.

On Resolution No. 10 committee reports unfavorably. Concurred in.

On Resolution No. 28 committee recommends it adoption after amending by striking out everything after "Horse Goods" in resolve.

Delegate Dold said that he did not see the justice of striking out the name of the organization interested. The public would not be able to tell whether they were union goods. The fact that the government uses products with the union stamp would be an advertisement for the label.

Delegate Fahey moved that that part of the recommendation of the committee striking out be non-concurred in and the resolution adopted.

Delegate Kidd stated that we did not want the goods manufactured and used by the government made by non-union men. The resolution applied to the Rock Island arsenal only. We should not ask for the use of the label on all goods, but should ask the government to recognize the Leather Workers' Union. The power of the union label lies in the demand created for it by the union and its friends.

Delegate McCormick said that it would be just as reasonable to ask the government to put the printers label on *The Record*, which is produced entirely by union men.

Delegate Reid thought the resolution could be enlarged to take in all union men.

Delegate Lennon moved that the report of the committee be concurred in.

On the question being put to vote, the motion to non-concur was defeated and to concur adopted.

Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials, having examined the credential of D. A. Cowan representing the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, 6681, with one vote, recommend that he be seated. Adopted.



The Committee appointed to audit the Secretary's and Treasurer's accounts submitted the following report:

Kansas City, Mo., December 14, 1898.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the Eightieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your committee, to audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer, beg leave to report having attended to their duty, and find the accounts in splendid condition, receipts and vouchers appearing for each item of income and expenditure.

The following is a summary of the receipts and expenditures:

Balance on hand Nov. 1, 1897.....\$ 3,694 44  
Receipts during the year..... 18,894 15

Total receipts.....\$22,588 59  
Expenses for the year..... 19,197 17

Balance on hand Nov. 1, 1898.....\$ 3,391 42

We have examined the certificate of the Third National Bank, of Bloomington, Ill., and there is deposited there \$2,391.42. There is also deposited in the Riggs National Bank, of Washington, \$1,000.00.

Respectfully submitted,  
T. F. TRACY, Chairman,  
J. T. MULHOLLAND,  
HOMER D. CALL, Secretary.

Moved by Delegate O'Sullivan that the report of the Committee be adopted.

Concurred in.

Delegate Black, of Committee on Grievances, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the A. F. of L.:

We, your Committee on Grievances, recommend Resolution No. 32, by Delegate Fitzgerald, be referred to the Committee on Laws.

Recommendation concurred in.

The hour of 10 o'clock having arrived, which was made special order to hear the addresses from the Fraternal Delegates, President Gompers introduced Fraternal Delegates Inskip and Thorn, and said, in part, that those familiar with the work in the labor movement of this country, and who are familiar with their makeup, know well the solidarity of their being. They hope the time is not far distant when the effort to unite the wage-workers of the world will be accomplished.

President Gompers then presented Fraternal Delegate Thorn.

Fraternal Delegate Thorn mentioned the great numbers in the various labor organizations of Great Britain, and said the organizations in America worked on different lines from those in England. The organized workers of England had elected forty-five members of organized labor to parliamentary, municipal and other positions, and it was now time to put more there. It was inconsistent in organized labor unions to maintain wages and then

put in office the very men who were antagonistic to their movement. In speaking of the difference between labor and its opponents he said that if the police were not powerful enough to compel the workers to submit to the will of those in control of the factories, mines and other industries, the government, at their dictation, would use the army and navy against labor. The remedy for this was in political action. The unemployed problem also affected the unions of England, where large bodies of men were out of employment. The problem was a very serious one. The introduction of machinery had thrown many out of work. The wage earners must strike out in a different way. So long as the machinery and land are in the hands of the few, so long will there be large numbers of unemployed. He did not think the people in America were any better off than those in England. The wheat grown in America is shipped to England and ground. Over there one can get a four-pound loaf for ten cents, while in America a one pound loaf costs five cents. He could not see where the Americans were any better off, although they received greater compensation for their labor. Delegate Thorn advocated international federation, whereby the workers of the two countries would be united for mutual protection and assistance. The first duty of all was to organize. It was also a duty to take political action that would benefit wage-earners. The gentleman closed his remarks by inviting the A. F. of L. to send delegates to their congress.

President Gompers then introduced Fraternal Delegate Inskip, who spoke of the necessity for more general organization among wage-workers. He said he belonged to a union that started with twenty men and it now numbered 45,000. You must recognize in the face of the debate of yesterday that you are confronted with a deep question in the encroachment of women as wage workers. I believe women have the right to compete with men, but I believe they should have equal wages with men. That is the only way that the problem will be solved. Give woman the same pay that man receives everywhere, and the number of women employed will soon decrease. Child labor is a wrong that deserves the attention of everyone, and is the easier of the two evils to deal with. We have accomplished the adoption of some splendid labor laws in England. An attempt was made to hold leaders of strikes responsible for men quitting their work. It was fought until it reached the supreme court, where it was decided that union laborers had the right to refuse to work with non-unionists. The com-

pensation act, which is the result of the efforts of organized labor, gives to the worker who may be permanently crippled, 50 per cent of his wages for life. While temporary injuries last he may draw 50 per cent of his pay. In case of death by accident his heirs may, without expensive litigation, recover \$1,500 damages. Arbitration has been very successful in England and is far better than strikes. In some of the trades the unions and employers each deposit \$5,000 as an arbitration forfeit, and a violation of any part of the agreement results in a forfeiture of that sum.

President Gompers replied, declaring that there was frequently a misapprehension as to the real strength of trade unions in America, because such a large percentage of the working population followed agricultural pursuits. "In the wage earning vocations I believe it will be found that the working people of America are better organized than in any other country. We are quite active in politics, too, for in Colorado alone seventeen legislators hold union labor cards. We are well represented in many municipal councils. We must not think that we can be absolutely indifferent to politics. We need men in Congress who carry union cards. The American Federation of Labor has always stood for the organization and recognition of those women who are compelled of necessity to work; but we do demand now, and we must always demand, equal pay for equal work." He hoped to see in time a great gathering of organized labor of the world—a parliament of man. He paid a warm welcome to the Fraternal Delegates, and declared that the closer the two English speaking nations came together in fraternal alliance the speedier would approach the era of universal peace.

Delegate Cahill moved that this Convention extend to our Fraternal Delegates a hearty vote of thanks for their able and wise counsel to this body and the wage-earners of America. Adopted.

President Gompers appointed the following special committee:

Committee on Eight Hour Bill—David Black, Geo. F. Kenny, Jerry Donohue, J. W. White, W. J. O'Brien, Joseph Cahill, Ed B. Sabine.

Delegate W. D. Mahon, for the Committee on Local or Federated Bodies, recommended the adoption of the following resolution.

Resolution No. 110.—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

RESOLVED, That the Commercial Club and the members of the Kansas City Bar be invited to be present on Saturday, December 17, to listen to the address of the Hon. Clarence S. Darrow on the subject: "The Courts and the Workmen."

Adopted.

An invitation extended by Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Co., to visit their packing house, was accepted.

Resolution No. 100.—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

RESOLVED, by the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., That the executive officers of all international and national unions in America be and are hereby requested to correspond with the officers of the same crafts in Great Britain with the object in view of bringing the organizations closer together for mutual protection and trade benefits; and

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to correspond with the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress, with the same object in view, of developing a practical co-operation between the organized workers of the two countries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101.—By James O'Connell, Stuart Reid and George H. Warner:

WHEREAS, Members of Lodge No. 47, International Association of Machinists, employees of the Davis Engine Co., Denver Colo., have been and are still engaged in an extended struggle for recognition of the principles of trade unionism; and

WHEREAS, The Davis Engine Co. of that city, failing to secure an injunction from the District Court, have carried their case to the Court of Appeals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, congratulate the organized machinists of Denver on their victory over the Davis Engine Co. in the District Court of Arapahoe County; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do pledge our moral support to the International Association of Machinists in the continuance of their struggle, to the end that the principles of trade unionism may be firmly established in the City of Denver.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegates Donnelly, O'Rourke, Cain, Morrison:

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be requested to take the necessary steps to secure the establishing of the postal telegraph or the government ownership of the telegraph, and that the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make government ownership of the telegraph a referred measure and co-operate with the International Typographical Union in securing the enactment of the desired law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate J. E. Fitzgerald:

WHEREAS, For years past labor has been striving to pass laws to protect it from the many pressing burdens which our economic environments force it to carry; and

WHEREAS, In the majority of cases, when a labor law is passed, it is declared unconstitutional by the courts; therefore.

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the A. F. of L., is hereby instructed to draft a bill, and have the same introduced in Congress, providing that all bills affecting labor shall be, after their passage and before becoming effective, referred to the Supreme Court for an opinion as to their legality, and if necessary, we recommend an amendment to the Constitution to validate this bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate H. D. Call:

WHEREAS, The Pittsburg Plate Glass Co. of Pittsburg, with branches throughout the country, has seen fit to refuse to employ union labor in its works; and,

WHEREAS, The Plate Glass Workers' Union of Elwood, Ind., has been compelled to declare the product of the said company unfair; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. do endorse the said declaration of unfairness and extend to the said local its moral support.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 105.—By Delegates J. E. Donohue and John Witzel:

WHEREAS, In view of the prevailing disposition of corporate interests to amalgamate into trusts and combines for the purpose of controlling the manufacture of tobacco in all of its forms, and also the wages of all tobacco workers; and

WHEREAS, Through their efforts the tobacco workers have prevailed upon the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, the largest manufacturers of tobacco in the world, to adopt the label of the Tobacco Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, Said firm has not only adopted the label of the Tobacco Workers' Union, but has also declined the fabulous offers of the tobacco combine to induce them to enter into same; and

WHEREAS, By taking this stand, as we believe, to the apparent jeopardy of their best financial interests, and also the adoption of the Tobacco Union's label as aforesaid, they have come squarely out on the side of labor and humanity in the fiercest and most notable commercial conflict of history; therefore, be it

RESOLVED—First, that the position of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, in refusing to enter into this tobacco combine, is unqualifiedly endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Second—That, recognizing the fact that the paralyzing hand of the trust in making inroads upon the rights and privileges of labor and humanity is the most serious menace to industrial well being, public tranquility and the perpetuity of our republic, we hereby

pledge our moral and material support to all other independent manufacturers to help them in their fight and our fight, and the fight of humanity against the blighting curse of trust aggrandizement.

Third—That, to give practical effect to these sentiments, we hereby request and urge upon all members of the Federation of Labor and all patriotic citizens who are consumers of tobacco, to purchase and use only the chewing and smoking tobaccos and cigarettes of independent factories who use the label of the Tobacco Workers Union.

Fourth—Be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to have forwarded a copy of these resolutions to every union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 106.—By Delegate John W. White:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. granted a Federal Labor union charter to a mixed assembly of men at Bay City, Mich.; and

WHEREAS, In this mixed organization there were musicians and others who should have legally belonged to their own trade unions; and

WHEREAS, These men were organized for the sole purpose of wiping out of existence local No. 51 of the National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, thereby preventing union labor being recognized in the theaters of Saginaw and Bay City, Mich.; and

WHEREAS, It was also the means of preventing honest workmen and bona fide union men from deriving a fair and just compensation for their labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. have, with our National Executive Board, endorsed local 51 of our National, and ordered the Federal Labor union No. 7014, to withdraw its members from the theaters, and such as were eligible to join our local or Saginaw and Bay City; and

WHEREAS, They have failed to comply with the decision of the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter of Federal Labor Union, No. 7014, be revoked, as an act of justice to the N. A. T. S. E.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union of Bay City be compelled to recognize our local union in that city, and seat their delegates at their next regular meeting under penalty of censure from the A. F. of L.

We earnestly trust that your honorable body will see the justice of our petition and unanimously grant its request by its adoption and the faithful carrying out of its provisions.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegate John F. Tobin:

RESOLVED, That this convention, believing that the labor problem will be solved only when the lands and means of production and distribution and exchange are held as common property, and that the trade union move-

ment, together with political action on class lines, are the best methods to reach this end. we, therefore, commend trade unionists to vote only for such political parties as stand for the principles enunciated herein.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 108.—By Delegate John S. Kelly:

RESOLVED, That the boycott on the firm of Donohue & Henneberry, printers, of Chicago, be reaffirmed, and that the firm of W. B. Conkey & Co., of Chicago, be declared unfair.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 109.—By Delegate J. F. McCormick:

WHEREAS, The Hon. Perry S. Heath, First Assistant Postmaster General of the United States, has proven himself to be a true and loyal friend to labor and labor interests by promulgating an order that all printing for the Postoffice Department should be given to offices only employing union labor; and

WHEREAS, An attack has been made on Mr. Heath by newspapers unfriendly to labor on account of the stand he has taken; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union and Columbia Typographical Union of the District of Columbia have passed resolutions thanking Mr. McKinley for appointing such a true friend of labor to such a responsible position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby tenders to the Hon. Perry S. Heath an expression of gratitude for the noble example he has set.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 110.—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

RESOLVED, That the Commercial Club of Kansas City, and the members of the Kansas City Bar, be invited to attend the session of

the American Federation of Labor on Saturday, December 17, upon which occasion the Hon. Clarence S. Darrow will address the Federation on the "Workingmen and the Courts."

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Michael Raphael of the Cigarmakers' Union of New York, and Henry Fischer of Tobacco Workers' National Union, addressed the Convention in regard to their respective trades.

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 14, 1898.  
Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., Kansas City, Mo.:

Heartiest congratulations to the Federation and best wishes for its future success.

W. C. PEARCE,  
Sec'y-Treas., U. M. W. of A.

Telegram was received from E. E. Clark, Chief Officer of the Order of Railway Conductors, requesting Convention to change its attitude on the question of the Anti-Scalpners bill.

Kansas City, Mo., December 12, 1898.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation in Convention Assembled:

Greeting:—The National Building Trades Council of America, in convention assembled, extends fraternal greeting to the American Federation of Labor, and the assurance of our hearty co-operation in all measures tending to the amelioration of all labor and humanity.

That both our deliberations may be conducted with wisdom and harmony, and be productive of great good is the sincere wish of the National Building Trades Council of America.

THEO. S. JONES,  
General President.  
H. W. STEINBISS,  
General Secretary-Treasurer.

At 12 o'clock the Convention adjourned to meet again at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

## THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

Convention called to order by President Gompers at 2 p. m.

Roll call.

Absentees: Garrity, McEwen, Smith, Dalton, Morman, Snedegar and Cowan.

Delegates Mills and Doyle were recorded absent Tuesday when they were on duty in committee.

John F. O'Sullivan, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

On resolution No. 43 the committee reports the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That this Convention considers the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the income tax as not in accord with the spirit of the constitution, nor in accord with the wishes of the American people, and that we demand of Congress that the enactment of a law making a tax on incomes be made a feature of Federal taxation.

Moved by Delegate Mahon that we non-concur in the committee's report and adopt the original resolution.

Delegate Duncan stated that the reason the committee adopted the substitute was to make it more practicable.

On motion, committee's report was adopted.

On resolution No. 48, committee reports approval with the words, "and paid for at said company's prices," in the second line of the second "resolve," stricken out. Adopted unanimously.

On resolution No. 49 the committee reports that it is already covered by resolution No. 48.

On resolution No. 50, committee reports striking out the first, second, third and fifth resolves, and the words, "Be it further," at the end of the fourth resolve, and we recommend that the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council, with the further recommendation that, so far as practicable, the spirit of the same be carried out.

Delegate Furuseth stated that the Southwick bill did not meet the requirements desired, and we should try to find some way of drafting or redrafting a bill so that it would stand before the courts. By tomorrow afternoon more definite information would be at hand.

Delegate Coy thought that this body should have full opportunity to discuss the bill.

Delegate Duncan thought the information from Washington would have but little bearing on the question, as the bill was national in character and the matter under discussion pertained particularly to State Legislatures.

Delegate Fahey said that he favored postponement until information could be received from Washington.

Delegate O'Sullivan stated as his opinion that the convention should declare at every opportunity against the system of convict labor, and believed that declarations should be made against the system in central bodies, continually, until attention was given to the subject. The action in New York State in this matter was encouraging and was an incentive to us to go on.

Delegate Furuseth stated that after carefully reading the resolution he saw no reason why it should not be adopted.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Elderkin, for Committee on Boycotts and Labels, submitted the following report:

On resolution No. 39 your committee recommends the following as a substitute:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its previous endorsements of all union labels belonging to the affiliated bodies.

Delegate Fitzgerald moved to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Donohue moved that the report of the committee be deferred.

Moved by Delegate Kent that the resolution be received and referred to the Committee on Universal Label.

Delegate Dold declared himself opposed to the amendment.

Delegate Kent said that the matter will be all threshed out when the Committee on Universal Label reports.

Delegate Whitaker held that if the Committee on Universal Label reported favorably and report was adopted it would take time to introduce it.

Delegate Elderkin thought it was foolish to introduce resolutions and refer them to a committee to report upon and then to defer action on the report. He thought that whoever had introduced the resolution for a universal label should have secured action upon it first and had the other matters in regard to the label referred to that committee.

Delegate Donohue arose to a point of personal privilege, and stated that he wished to have the resolution deferred until the Committee on Universal Label could report, so as to avoid conflict.

Delegate Fitzgerald was also in favor of having the resolution lie over.

Delegate Cable said he was not in favor of the proposition to defer because it would take considerable time to adopt the Universal Label and that his organization could not take any action until the next convention.

On motion to defer, a division was called for, and it was lost by a vote of 13 to 41.

The recommendation of the committee was then adopted.

On resolution No. 46 the committee recommends favorable action. Adopted.

On resolution No. 2 the committee recommends that it be referred to the Committee on Laws. Adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES O'CONNELL, Chairman,  
THOMAS J. ELDERKIN, Secretary,  
G. F. KEEFER,  
C. F. BECHTOLD,  
S. AULTER,  
G. A. WHITAKER,  
J. G. CAIN.

The following resolutions were received and referred to committees:

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates P. F. Doyle, Luke Grant and Chas. Dold:

WHEREAS, The Fortieth General Assembly of the State of Illinois placed upon the statute books a law commonly known as the "Allen Law," the same having been passed for the purpose of enabling the street car railroad companies in the several cities throughout the aforesaid state to secure an extension of their franchises for a period of fifty years; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid "Allen Law" came into being in spite of the opposition of the people of the aforesaid state from all walks of life, except those directly interested therein; and

WHEREAS, The street car companies of the city of Chicago are using every means at their command to secure an extension of their franchise for a period of fifty years and thereby defeat the agitation going on to secure municipal ownership of public utilities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention extends its hearty and sincere support to his honor, Carter H. Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, for the gallant stand he has made against the street car companies in the interest of the people, and that we appreciate the position he has assumed that no franchise be granted while the obnoxious "Allen Law" remains on the statute books of the State of Illinois.

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has observed with pleasure and gratification the growth of good feeling and fraternal spirit resultant from the interchange of delegates with Great Britain and Canada; and

WHEREAS, We believe the field and scope of our cause can be broadened; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our fraternal delegates to British Trade Congress be instructed to encourage the holding of a grand International Trades Congress in Paris, France, in the year 1900.

Referred to Committee on Fraternal Delegates.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

RESOLVED, That all resolutions presented at the session of the American Federation of Labor shall be introduced in duplicate—one copy for the Secretary and one for the use of the committee to which it will be referred.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate B. E. Perigny:

WHEREAS, The favorable recognition of the Union Label is evidence of sincere sympathy; and

WHEREAS, The action of the Government of the United States is a leading example for all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to use their influence to induce the Government to require the Union Label on all goods purchased for its use.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Charles F. Hahn:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of the city of Chicago has failed to recognize the principle of trade unionism by employing musicians not members of the American Federation of Musicians for their ball on January 14th, 1899; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes the American Federation of Musicians as the only *bona fide* union of musicians; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That local bodies of the Building Trades Council of the city of Chicago, which are affiliated with or chartered under the American Federation of Labor, be requested to use their utmost endeavors to have the employment of non-union musicians by the Building Trades Council of Chicago reconsidered and annulled, and that they demand the employment of musicians belonging to local No. 10 of the American Federation of Musicians, said union being the only local of union musicians in the city of Chicago recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate M. J. Noonan:

WHEREAS, There is great need of the organization of the toiling masses of the South; and

WHEREAS, It is only a matter of time when the workmen of all other sections of our country will be working at Southern wages unless the working people of the South are organized; be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. salary an organizer to travel in the South for at least six months in the next year, for the purpose of organizing and agitating all labels.

Referred to Committee on President's report.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Thomas J. Elderkin:

RESOLVED, That we renew our petition to the President of the United States on behalf of E. W. Clark, now in Thomaston jail, and that we request delegates to this convention, as well as the incoming Executive Board, to use their best endeavors to obtain executive clemency for this man, who surely has suffered sufficiently to meet the demands of justice.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate John F. O'Sullivan:

WHEREAS, The Elastic Goring Weavers of this country are affiliated with this organization, and because of lack of sufficient demand for the products of their labor, which threatens the disruption of their organization,

RESOLVED, That this convention declare that a trade so well organized as is that of the Goring Weavers should receive our support; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we recommend the union-made products of the Elastic Goring Weavers to the patronage of all wage-workers.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate P. F. Doyle:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation and the Illinois State Federation of Labor were forced to place a boycott upon the product of breweries in the city of Chicago, because of the autocratic position taken by the boss brewers that they would not treat with organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the boycott and the names of the Chicago breweries be taken from the fair list of the *American Federationist*.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Delegate Joseph Cahill, for the Committee on Eight-Hour Bill, submitted the following report:

We, your Eight-Hour Committee, having considered resolutions 94 and 95, beg leave to recommend the adoption of resolution No. 95 as presented by Delegate Duncan, with the words "the piece" stricken out in the last line of the first whereas, and the word "contract" inserted. Said resolution amended to read as follows.

WHEREAS, The Eight-Hour bill, known as H. R. No. 7389, in its present form now pending in the United States Senate, contains the remedial provisions necessary to carry into effect a uniform eight-hour work-day on all Government work, whether done by the day or by contract; and,

WHEREAS, Delay in its enactment into law is not only inimical to the best interests of the working class, but is a hindrance to trade and economic development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of

Labor, in regular session assembled in Kansas City, Mo., and representing the wage-workers of our country, hereby memorializes both branches of our National Government and the President of the United States to lose no further time in enacting said bill into law.

RESOLVED, That this resolution be telegraphed to Washington.

D. BLACK, Chairman,  
W. J. O'BREN,  
J. W. WHITE,  
GEO. F. HENRY,  
JOS. J. CAHILL, Secretary.

Committee's report concurred in.

President Gompers telegraphed the resolution to the President of the Senate, Hon. J. J. Gardner, Chairman Committee on Labor, and Senator Cannon.

It was moved that a recess of thirty minutes be taken to enable the committees to meet and pass upon the resolutions in their possession. Lost.

Delegate Buchanan Keith of Hackman's Protective Union No. 6967, was excused from further attendance upon the convention, as matters of importance necessitated his presence at home.

Delegate Owen Miller moved that the convention now adjourn, to meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning, in order to enable the different committees to meet and dispose of the resolutions before them. Adopted.

Adjourned at 3:15 p. m.

## FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Convention called to order at 9 A. M. by President Gompers.

Roll call.

Absentees: Garrity, McGuire, McBride, Kelly (J. S.), Kennedy, Kelly (Robt.), Hayes, Carey, Rife, Dugan, Barrett, Brush, Dalton, Norman, O'Neil, Reynolds, Maher and Powell.

On motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

President Gompers called Delegate Lloyd to the chair.

Delegate Mills for the Committee on President's Report submitted the following:

We, your Committee on President's report, beg leave to submit the following:

(1) Realizing the necessity of a systematic and thorough organization of the wage-earning class based upon trade union lines, as set forth in the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor, we, your com-

mittee, heartily endorse the sentiments expressed in the President's report, and commend particularly that portion of the report pertaining to the Philosophy of Trade Unions to the earnest consideration of all.

Concurred in.

(2) We note with gratification the increase of membership during the past year, which we consider due to a clearer realization of the aims and objects of trade unionism as enunciated by the President and Executive Council, as well as to the splendid and efficient services rendered by our organizers. In relation to the growth of Internationality, we cannot fail to express our appreciation of the success attained and the results achieved by the cordial interchange of our fraternal relations with our co-workers in the Dominion and across the water.

Adopted.

(3) We take cognizance of the efforts put forth during the recent strike of the textile workers in the city of New Bedford, Mass., by so-called friends of labor, whose efforts were



particularly noticeable, rendered so by the fact that these so-called friends of labor resorted to every conceivable act of treachery to counteract the splendid and beneficent efforts put forth by President Gompers and the Executive Council to organize the mill operatives and bring the conflict to a successful termination. Such rank treachery to the cause of labor should not be forgotten or overlooked by our affiliated unions. We commend the highly laudable effort of the President and Executive Council to bring the strike to a speedy and successful termination.

Adopted.

(4) We also concur with the recommendation of the President regarding the appointment of organizers for the textile industry, and your committee takes this opportunity of recommending to this Convention the advisability of appointing a special organizer to visit the South and other textile centers that may be deemed advisable; and we further recommend that this Convention shall make such arrangement as may be deemed proper to defray the expenses incurred by the same.

Concurred in.

(5) We also commend the efforts of the Wood Workers of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, for the manly struggle which they have made for the purpose of obtaining more favorable conditions of labor and the highly gratifying results which they have accomplished during the past year; they certainly have demonstrated to the wage-earners of Wisconsin, that the former have a perfect right to picket and use peaceful methods to dissuade others from taking the places of those involved in a strike or lockout.

Adopted.

(6) We fully concur with the views of the President in relation to the Wire Drawers' strike, and would suggest the adoption of the recommendation pertaining thereto.

Adopted.

(7) We take great pleasure in extending our hearty congratulations to the United Mine Workers' Union upon the splendid victory achieved by them at Pittsburg and Virden, and it is to be hoped that their efforts will meet with the same success in Pana as in the cities above mentioned. We also indorse the sentiment expressed by the President with reference to the subject of closer affiliation and a greater Federation. And we sincerely hope and trust that the time is not far distant when the wage-earners of the world will be more closely united.

Adopted.

(8) We recommend for your favorable consideration the abolition of the penalty provision in the constitution which makes it necessary for central bodies to pay an additional fee of \$10 to be entitled to representation in Convention, and this question be immediately referred to the Committee on Laws.

Adopted.

(9) We would further suggest that some change be made in the present law compelling the payment of per capita tax promptly and monthly, and that this subject also should be referred to the Committee on Laws.

Adopted.

(10) With reference to the Seamen's Bill, which is now passed, your committee desires to say, that while it is a good step in the right direction, it does not give to seamen that full freedom to quit work at will and move freely from place to place which is the inalienable natural right of man, and without which freedom loses its meaning and becomes but an empty phrase; and we therefore desire to reiterate the position taken by previous Conventions, that under our flag no man, be he a seaman, a mechanic or a farm laborer, either on the mainland, in Hawaii or in any other possession of the United States, shall be, by contract or otherwise, compelled to labor against his will except as a penalty for crime; we demand this; it has been bought with blood, and we shall be satisfied with nothing less.

Adopted.

(11) We agree with the President that further steps should be taken to secure some remedy for the writ of injunction, as applied to the wage earners of our country. With this in mind, we recommend that the incoming Executive Council shall cause to be drafted a more effective measure bearing upon this point.

Adopted.

(12) We recommend to this convention that renewed agitation be made in favor of public ownership of the telegraph and telephone, and the adoption of postal savings banks.

Concurred in.

(13) We also indorse the position taken by the President on the invitation extended by the Czar of Russia to the nations of the world inviting them to send representatives to a conference with a view to the disarmament of nations, and that this convention place itself on record as approving any movement which will tend to bring peace to the world.

Adopted.

(14) Your committee desire to further express our heartiest approval and commendation of the President's remarks upon the late war with Spain and the results that appear likely to follow therefrom. At no time in the history of this nation has its people been face to face with a more momentous question than that which now confronts it. In past conventions the attitude of the A. F. of L. upon the question of annexing territory far removed from our own, and inhabited by races between whom and ourselves there is little in common has been clearly defined. The exigencies of war, however, consummated that which had been unsuccessfully attempted in the time of peace, and, as the President very significantly remarks, "the Sandwich Islands, with their contract slave laborers, contract slave laws and all that they portend, are now the possession of the United States." The fears we entertain from the contaminating influences of the slave labor of these islands, in the light of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Seamen's case, known as *Robertson vs. Baldwin*, do not need repetition, and indeed, are accentuated by the following dispatch appearing in the New York Sun of the 7th inst.:

"Unless the United States bars the Asiatic coolies from entering the Hawaiian Islands as laborers, the problem of securing a good labor

supply for the sugar plantations appears to be near a solution. Japanese immigration companies have made a proposition which will free the owners of plantations from the trouble of enforcing contracts. They offer to supply Japanese laborers for three years and to give lands to guarantee that the men will serve their time. If any desert and escape, the company agrees to replace them with competent laborers. The cost will be the same as at present. Japanese laborers have been found nearly as good as Chinese, and they stand the climate better than the Portuguese from the Azores or other white laborers."

Our duty towards Cuba and its unfortunate people is clear. America's sons fought and gave their lives to win for them their freedom and independence, and we mistake much the honor and good faith of our people if they will lend their countenance to any movement that will rob the Cuban patriots of that liberty which they prize so highly themselves. Organized labor's attitude admits of no question and is summed up in these words, "Keep faith." We share the apprehension of the President regarding the proposed disposition and government of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. We see in them a departure from the time-honored traditions of our nation and a disregard of the warnings of the fathers of this country, who, looking into the future, saw and realized the dangers to which a policy of imperialism, such as that which is now proposed, would bring us. As citizens we must protest against forcing our system of government upon an unwilling people; against the maintenance of a huge standing army, that has no place in a republic such as ours; we protest against the manifold dangers attendant upon European and Asiatic entanglements, and as workmen emphatically protest against the unfair competition of the wretched peoples who would become, without voice or vote, our fellow citizens. We therefore urge upon workmen to awake to a full realization of the dangers that confront them, and call upon their representatives with no uncertain voice to save them from the dangers of imperialism.

Concurred in.

Respectfully submitted,  
MARTIN FOX, Chairman,  
H. LLOYD,  
A. FURUSETH,  
T. F. TRACY,  
O. E. WOODBURY,  
P. F. DOYLE,  
H. S. MILLS, Secretary

Delegate Lennon was called to the chair.

Delegate Mahon moved that the report of the President be taken up *seriatim* and passed upon. Adopted.

Paragraph No. 1 of committee's report was adopted.

It was moved that paragraph No. 2 of committee's report be adopted.

Delegate Morris was opposed to confining the efforts of an organizer to the textile workers. The section west of the Mississippi and the inter-mountain sections required assistance.

Delegate Morris moved that it lay over for consideration later on.

Delegates O'Connell and Mahon opposed the motion to lay over.

Delegate Shaffer said too much time was spent in discussing motions of this character. He was opposed to the motion to defer.

The amendment was lost.

Delegate Mahon moved to strike out the words "textile workers" and insert in lieu thereof the words "all industries."

Delegate Mills said there was a vast field for work among the textile workers in the South. He had already received four applications for charters from textile workers in the South. He believed that if a special organizer were appointed, he should be a textile worker.

Delegate O'Connell said he spent six weeks on a southern tour, and was in accord with the views of Delegate Mahon and in favor of the amendment. The conditions in the South were terrible, and something should be done for them, but there were other industries which should receive attention.

Delegate McCormick favored the amendment.

Delegate Mahon could not see why the secretary of the committee should insist that the organizer should be a textile worker. The conditions in the Southern States demanded attention from this Convention. The importation of men to Virden, Ill., showed the necessity for work in the South.

Delegate John White said that other industries in the South demanded attention. He was in favor of the amendment.

Delegate Gilthorpe favored the amendment.

The previous question was ordered.

The amendment was adopted.

The report was then adopted as amended.

On motion, paragraph No. 3 of the committee's report was concurred in.

Paragraph No. 4 was concurred in.

Paragraph No. 5 was concurred in.

Paragraph No. 6 was approved.

On paragraph No. 7 of committee's report it was moved to concur.

Delegate Cowen said it was an important question. If we are about to extend the boundaries of the United States, there was something more in the question than trade-unionism. We pass resolutions and go to the White House and beg on our knees for legislation instead of using the ballot box. In Pennsylvania, after the shooting of the miners at Hazelton, what was the result? The officials were not turned down at the next elec-

tion. Unless we start out and give some firm expression against this annexation it will go on. He was opposed to expansion.

Delegate Lloyd stated that there would be another resolution from the committee which would be more specific.

Paragraph No. 7, on motion, was adopted.

It was moved by Delegate Valentine that the report of the Committee on President's Report be adopted as a whole. Carried.

On resolution No. 42 the committee presents the following as a substitute for the same:

WHEREAS, As a result of the war with Spain, a new and far-reaching policy, commonly known as "imperialism" or "expansion," is now receiving the attention of the National Government, and if ratified by the United States Senate will seriously burden the wage-workers of our country, thrust upon us a large standing army, an aristocratic navy, and seriously threaten the perpetuity of our Republic; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention offers its protest against any such innovation in our system of government, and instructs our officers to use every honorable means to secure its defeat.

It was moved to concur in committee's report.

Delegate Donnelly said: We hear a great deal about imperialism nowadays. I want you to revert back a little more than a hundred years, when the leader of our Continental army refused a crown. Imperialism in the United States died then. I don't think that trade unions have anything to do with this expansion question, except as to the employment of contract labor in Hawaii. I want to call your attention to Great Britain's colonial policy. We know that the greatness of the English nation rests largely in its colonial policy, and that expansion has made it what it is. Now, what does closer affiliation with Great Britain mean? It means that we must either come under the wing of that great power or put ourselves on an equal footing with it. The logical result is that the navy and the army must be put on a footing with that government. We, as working people have about all we can do to look after our more vital interests here at home. The very first newspaper printed in our newly acquired territory was printed by Typographical Union men. There is a Typographical Union in Hawaii now, and we are getting ready to organize one in Havana. I believe that the only trade which is now interested in the new colonial question is the Cigarmakers. That trade finds competition in the islands, but I believe it is the only one. Contract labor in Hawaii is the one thing we need to fight; that is all. We have here at home an expansion

question of our own far greater than that which is agitating the Government now. It is the expansion of organized labor. There are sections (naming industries) here in our own country where labor unions are almost unknown.

Delegate Lloyd called attention to the fact that the mine operators of Illinois recently went into the Southern States and employed negroes to take the places of striking miners, and used it as an illustration to show that peon labor could be imported from the Philippines if those islands become a part of this government. If we go on to annex distant territory, with ten millions of semi-barbarians, what will the effect be? Once annexed it will become a part of our country and will be dependent upon us. They will then import coolie laborers by shiploads to compete with American workmen. That affects me. I'll go anywhere to greet a man to our shores, but it is another proposition to annex a lot of people who are not like us. We bring them in, not to govern them, but that they may help to govern us. Our President was wise when he talked of the dangers that would follow from a system of militarism. I am willing that we should purchase the freedom of the Filipinos. I have visited England and France and Germany and seen the effects of militarism. Those countries are governed by bristling bayonets. I have heard from morning till night the rattling of swords. I saw sights in Southern Germany that would make your blood run cold; women hitched to plows; in Belgium women harnessed to canal boats was a spectacle that greeted my eyes. God save my country from such a condition. Don't forget the perpetuity of our Republic is at stake. I don't believe there is a man in this convention who wants to build a navy for warfare. What we want is, that if a navy is to be built, it be done by union men. I never have been in favor of an alliance with Great Britain or any other country. It would be a sad blow to the workers of both. What we want is an alliance of the workers of the world, and not the governments. It is time we back up our resolutions by active, intelligent work. Hope that we would serve notice on any representative of this country if he vote for expansion, annexation or imperialism he was the deadly enemy of labor, and we would oppose him at the polls. When you put clothes on the backs of our own people then you will have done something.

Delegate Kirby opposed the annexing of Hawaii, opposed annexation of pauper labor to this country; we cannot elevate the inhabi-

tants to our standard, but will drag our people down to their level. If the products of those countries are brought in, it will remove our products from competition. He hoped the recommendation of the committee would be approved.

Delegate Max S. Hayes said we cannot afford to trifle with this question as workers. It was a scheme of the politicians to confuse them and attract their attention from a question of vital interest to labor. The workers of this country have been divided by such questions as free trade and high tariff and have neglected matters of more import to themselves. This is not a question for the workers of the United States. This is not an economic question; it is a question of plutocracy. It is the logical result of the present capitalistic system. We are not here to pass resolutions to help either of the great political parties. As trade unionists we should wash our hands of this capitalistic proposition and having nothing to do with it.

Delegate Shaffer, rising to a question of personal privilege, stated that he presumed Delegate Donnelly alluded to his organization and supposed that he was misinformed and misled by others, and further stated that his organization was almost solidly organized in the South and that he was proud to have the honor to say that they have organized a union in Johnstown, where other organizations had failed to secure a foothold.

Delegate Kent believed that the coming together and rubbing of ideas was of benefit to him, and he would go forth with renewed energy to do battle in the interest of the wage-workers. He was sorry to see in some sections of this country a disposition to toady to everything that is English. He was not in favor of the English policy of colonization. He believed in expansion, but not the kind in vogue on the other side. He favored sending an army of schoolmasters to those countries. 20,000,000 acres of the land of our country are held by aliens. Put a tax on these lands for the benefit of our people. In France today, a contest is going on between the army and the citizens. He hoped we would not see such a condition in this country.

Delegate Cowen said he was a trade unionist, a citizen and a Socialist, and this question touched him on all three. The conditions since the revolution had materially changed. The policy of the British government was what he called murder. If civilization had to be carried to the heathen at the point of the bayonet, then let them die heathens. It was

not a question of any trade interest. The production in this country had become so rapid that the manufacturers desired expansion to market their surplus products and refused the wage-earners an eight-hour workday. Machinery turns out one-third more product with one-third less labor. With annexation we would come in competition with a foreign country and the wages of our workers would be brought down to their level. We should not take the islands from those people; they belong to them, and they have a right to them. We are so familiar with the tramp and hobo that we have become indifferent, and will become indifferent to imperialism if we take it up.

Delegate Furuseth said the resolution adopted by the A. F. of L. against Hawaii was good. Had the organizations notified their Congressmen they didn't desire the annexation of Hawaii it would not have been done. Whatever action was taken on this subject, it is important that you do not go to sleep afterward. Go back to your locals and send letters to your Congressmen. There is a power in letters to Congressmen that you haven't used to fullest extent—you haven't even scratched it. He said the encroachment of the Chinese in California was an object lesson on expansion. The Chinese cannot take the place of the printer, but he can take the place of the sailor, the baker and others. The employers would not have anything to do with him socially, but when it comes to getting him to work cheap, how industriously they sought him. It is unreasonable that islanders living in ignorance for 1,000 years can be educated in one generation. The American is not going to compete with the Malay anywhere. At the beginning of the war there was to be no conquered territory. Cuba was to be free. Within three months after, one single success made us forget that promise.

Delegate Mahon said the other side of the question has not been touched upon. Expansion opens markets for our products. The same people who stand behind the proposition of expansion struck the shackles from the American slaves. The opposition to annexation was from those people who thought it cheaper to abolish chattel slavery and turn loose ignorant workers to compete with the intelligent.

President Gompers said the question involved great danger to the interests of labor. During the war a conference was held to consider the foreign policy of the Government. Dewey accomplished the defeat of the Spanish

fleet at Manila, and it set the hearts of the people aglow. The moneyed tyrant immediately set to work to enlist the sympathies of the people in his selfish interests. Immediately the cry went forth that where the flag went up it must never be taken down. In the New York Central Labor Union I made the declaration that the flag of the country should never form the cloak to hide tyranny. The policy of imperialism and expansion should not go any further. The money power of Great Britain controls the old lady who wears the crown. He asked anyone who favors the other side to answer any one of the statements made in the report. From the day that the news was carried into Hawaii, President Dole was in conference with the sugar planters, with the view as to how many land certificates should be made out. It was decided to have 3,000—the planters wanted 6,000. About four weeks ago a worker quit work in Hawaii. He was arrested and the court decided he must go back to work; if he refused he must go to prison. The type-setters had organized in Puerto Rico. The union was broken, up, the men forced to go to work, and the men who organized the union were expelled from the island. We are differently

situated and peculiarly situated. It is unfair to compare the colonial policy of Great Britain with the United States. England could act immediately. When new territory is acquired or a colony conquered by England a new law is passed. The United States has a constitution with which law must conform. It is no easy matter to amend the United States constitution. There is no similarity between the two governments. If we annex the islands we may find a case in which a contract Filipino is concerned that would be passed on by the Supreme Court, and would become a precedent affecting American labor. The Senate of the United States must ratify a treaty before it becomes operative. We know Senators who are waiting to hear from the workers of the country, and when they do they will fight it. Intermingled here and there you will find Congressmen fighting for the people. The Mongolian question of California was crystallized into a national labor question and the Chinese were excluded from our land. There is more danger involved in this question than can be stated in a few moments.

Adjournment at 12:15 until 2 p. m., time having been extended.

## FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Treasurer Lennon called the Convention to order at 2 o'clock.

Roll call.

Absentee: McGuire, Call, Mahon, Flaherty, Henry, Morman, White, O'Neil and Reynolds.

Delegate Betchtold stated that matters relating to his own organization required so much attention that he desired to be excused from further attendance on the Teamsters, who were endeavoring to form a National organization, and suggested that the matter be referred to the Organization Committee. It was so referred with the understanding that the committee would appoint one of its members to assist the Teamsters in drawing up the constitution.

The Credentials Committee submitted the following report:

The regularly accredited delegate of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen being called away, the Committee on Credentials recommend the seating of Alternate W. S. McCauley.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McCormick moved that if the discussion of the question now before the Convention was not ended within one hour and a half, then a yea and nay vote be taken.

Discussion on the report of the Committee on the President's Report was continued.

Delegate Carey believed there was only one issue before the people, viz.: Private vs. public ownership of machinery. You say you are opposed to imperialism in the Philippines; but how about the imperialism in America as represented by capital? He opposed the exploitation of the land of the Filipinos—it is wrong. What of your position in compelling me to remain in competition with the machine which has no standard of life? It does not need food or clothes. In the name of trade unions, say we are against the condition in the Philippines. Happiness does not consist in possession, but in the grat-

ification and realization of desires. The position that we ought to assume is that we are opposed to imperialism, whether political or economic. It is time we take a position for or against the system. A system that produces imperialism and exploitation in the Philippines is wrong.

Delegate McNeill said the proposition for the establishment of a colonial policy is a trade union question because it deals with wages; political because it has to be settled by legislation. He had a right to belong to any political faith without question. He agreed fully with the sentiment expressed by the Social Democrats. If the trade unionists had sent up a concerted protest against expansion at its inception it would have been defeated. He had no right to ask anyone to join any particular political movement. He had lived to see the hopes of labor blasted by the false promises of politicians. All that had been gained had been through organization. There is nothing you can ask for that the trade union does not represent.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved the previous question.

Delegate Donnelly said he hoped they would permit him to make an explanation as to his position on the question, inasmuch as a delegate had stated that he had not studied the labor question, and desired to make answer by saying that he had never injected anything into a trade union that would divert the attention of its members from organization, and wished to know if the teeming millions of India ever interfered with the union movement of this country. The President pictured the people of the two islands. Should we turn these people back to the tyrannical rule of Spain? It was for the purpose of not creating dissension that he opposed this discussion.

Delegate Reid said the people of India did interfere with our movement; machinery was shipped to that country and coolies were put to work, and as result reduced the wages below a living standard. What we want is that all work done by the government should be by union men.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted.

On resolution No. 5 the committee reports favorably.

President Gompers said he thought it unwise to adopt that proposition at this time. We are now at that stage where the prospects for the Eight-Hour bill are good. When the

chairman of the Labor Committee was about to report on the Eight-Hour bill, he wrote to the heads of each department for their opinion as to the probable results, if it were passed. They all expressed opinions adversely to the law. A large lobby representing about \$500,000,000 was before the committee opposing it. A Senator who did his level best to pass it, says that the money interests were being brought to bear to have him cease his efforts to secure its passage.

Delegate O'Connell said that he agreed with President Gompers in regard to taking action at this time. He said he was intensely interested in securing a thirty days' leave of absence for the employees, and he moved that it be referred to the incoming Executive Council to use their best judgment.

Delegate McCormick stated he was satisfied to leave it in the hands of the Executive Council.

Delegate Coy was in favor of the amendment.

Delegate O'Connell's amendment was adopted.

The committee reports favorably on resolution No. 45. Adopted.

On resolution No 31 the committee reports that legislation was unnecessary, as the matter was already covered by law and practice.

Delegate Fitzgerald moved to non-concur in report of the committee.

President Gompers said he knew of no organization of Barbers, other than the National Union, to which a charter had been issued. When members become employers, it was required that they be given honorable withdrawal cards.

Delegate Fitzgerald asked that no charter be given an organization composed wholly or partly of employers. He opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Morrison stated that the law was explicit relative to the matter under discussion and quoted Section 2 of Article 13. He further stated that charters for Federal Labor unions were not granted to employers of labor; and that if there were employers of lateral Labor unions the officers were not aware of it. If such a state of affairs existed it should be reported, and requested the delegate who introduced the resolution to name a union which contained members which were employers of labor.

Delegate Fitzgerald stated that the requirements of the Barbers' Union forced a man to

withdraw when he became an employer. There have been instances where employers were connected with Federal Labor unions which denied admission to wage-workers. He cited the team owners of Syracuse. The cart owners in the same city, when the cart drivers applied for a charter, entered a protest against them.

Delegate Lennon asked Delegate Fitzgerald whether the attention of the officers had been called to the matter. Delegate Fitzgerald replied he thought they had.

Delegate Lloyd said many of our good members who were blacklisted are compelled to go contracting. He thought there was no use in further legislation.

Delegate O'Sullivan thought there was no use for further legislation upon the subject.

Delegate Kirby stated that the officers of the American Federation of Labor were very strict as to the membership in Federal Labor unions.

The motion to non-concur was defeated, and the committee's report was adopted.

Delegate Fitzgerald asked that he be recorded as voting against concurrence in committee's report. Request granted.

On resolution No. 116 the committee recommends its adoption.

President Gompers stated that if such a resolution were passed, provision should be made to enable the officers to carry it out. If such provision were not made, then the officers would have to report back to the next convention that they had not complied with their instructions.

Delegate Noonan said he knew the need of organization in the South, and if the A. F. of L. did not come to their assistance, they could not maintain their organization and wages, which are very low. He said if they did not get help, the wages of those in the East and North would come down to their low scale of wages. The color line cuts quite a figure in the South. In that country we have mechanics of both colors, and there is where the trouble lies. There are people in the South who will not affiliate with colored people.

Delegate Donnelly said there was no systematic effort being made to organize in the South, and asked if A. F. of L. was going to increase the per capita of International and National Unions at this time. He thought they could not stand it. A more concentrated effort should be made by the National Unions in the direction of organization. They should

confer with one another and render mutual assistance. There are some cities in the South which are well organized and in good condition. Some scheme should be devised whereby the National Unions can concentrate their efforts.

Delegate Mahon said the Executive Council had been instructed to send organizers into those fields and the money had been provided therefor at the last convention by raising the per capita tax.

Delegate Noonan said that in the South they had a white negro and black one, too, who were working for very small wages. The A. F. of L. must help them out. There was child labor in the South. The child is at work; the father is at home. The child is compelled to support the father and mother. He hoped his resolution would be adopted.

Delegate Jahns move to amend by striking out "six months" and substituting the words "so far as funds are available."

Delegate O'Connell said the Southern country is a splendid field for organization. The suggestion made by Delegate Donnelly was an excellent one. Keep organizers in the field and don't confine their work to one trade exclusively. Instruct them to assist all callings to organize. He was in favor of the amendment, as it would permit an organizer to remain out longer.

Delegate Dickens was not in favor of the amendment. There was nothing gained by being penurious; if you don't teach the South to work with you, your wages will be brought to their level. In Pennsylvania, we don't believe in 27½ cents an hour, nor do we believe in it in the South.

Delegate Sullivan said that by sending an organizer to the South it would help the textile workers in both the East and South.

Delegate O'Sullivan said if some steps were not taken to organize the workers in the South, Massachusetts will drop back from the position she occupies in the front rank of states of the Union, so far as labor legislation is concerned. The competition of the South will accomplish this result. You can't get legislation in the South unless you create a friendly public sentiment through your trade union. The A. F. of L. cannot complain of expense of organization, as its staff of organizers never received a cent for their splendid work.

Delegate Tracy offered the following resolution as a substitute, and moved its adoption:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to arrange with the International



and National bodies a system for conducting of the work of organization, which will insure concentrated action and better results for the money expended by the various organizations.

Delegate Fahey hoped the original resolution would pass.

Delegate Cake thought the movement suggested too narrow. The suggestions appeared to be to countenance the past inactivity. We should spend our money to perfect our organizations instead of trying to run the Government at home and abroad, and it would show better results.

Delegate Curry favored sending organizers to all sections.

Delegate Mitchell said there was very little difference in either of the propositions, and moved the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

On motion the amendments of Delegates Tracy and Jahns were adopted and the committee's report, as amended, was concurred in.

Delegate Warren asked permission to present a resolution which necessitated a reply by telegram. Request granted.

WHEREAS, The Druggists' League for Shorter Hours, of New York City, is doing a work which will in its results benefit the drug trade of the entire country, as the same evil conditions, long hours of drug clerks and accidental poisoning mistakes in consequence thereof, obtain in all cities of the Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, ask our affiliated organizations everywhere, as well as organized labor and social reformers generally, to extend to the Druggists' League for shorter hours every aid and co-operation in their power.

Delegate Warner moved the adoption of the resolution. Carried.

President Gompers called attention to the fact that this was the last day in which resolutions could be introduced.

Max Morris, for the Committee on Secretary's Report, submitted the following:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention:

Gentlemen—Your Committee on Secretary's Report beg leave to submit the following result of its deliberations:

We find the Secretary's report to be a most comprehensive statement of the affairs of his office and to contain many points of valuable information. While we note with regret a small deficiency in the *Federationist*, yet it must be taken into consideration that the American Federation of Labor is limited in its scope as to the obtaining of advertising contracts from fair houses. The *Federationist*, containing as it does the monthly financial statement of the Secretary and the official notices of the officers, saves the American Federation of Labor annually several hundred dollars.

We recommend that the per capita tax for Local and Federal Unions to the American Federation of Labor be increased to 5 cents per member per month, and that this recommendation be referred to the Committee on Laws.

Respectfully submitted,  
SAMUEL B. DONNELLY, Chairman,  
MAX MORRIS, Secretary,  
JOHN M. HUNTER,  
J. R. SPEELMAN,  
JAMES E. FITZGERALD,  
GEORGE F. KENNEY,  
CHARLES F. HAHN.

Moved by Delegate Giltorpe that the report be concurred in. Adopted.

Delegate Elderkin, for the Committee on Labels, submitted the following report:

Your committee recommends the striking out, in resolution No. 46, of all words from "not" in the third line of the last resolve to "but" in the fourth line of the same resolve.

On motion, recommendation was adopted.

On resolution No. 66, committee recommends its adoption. Concurred in.

On resolution No. 67, committee recommends that it be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Delegate Driscoll moved to amend resolution No. 67 by requiring that one member of the Executive Council attend to the matter personally. Adopted.

Resolution adopted as amended.

On resolution 72, committee recommends its adoption. Concurred in.

On resolution No. 79, committee recommends its adoption. Concurred in.

On resolution No. 88, the committee recommends that owing to the complex nature of the resolution they refer it to the convention without recommendation.

Committee then withdrew their recommendation.

Committee recommends that resolutions Nos. 44 and 62 be referred to the special committee on Universal Label. Recommendation adopted.

On resolution No. 26, committee reports that it is already covered by the action of the convention on resolution No. 39.

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

Delegate Adrian M. Jones submitted the following report for Committee on Fraternal Delegates:

To the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled:

Your special committee, to whom was referred the reports of Fraternal Delegates Duncan and Lloyd to the British Trade Union

Congress, and Delegate Kidd to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, beg leave to submit the following as their report:

It is the opinion of your committee that too much praise cannot be given the delegates to the British Trades Union for the able manner in which they fulfilled their mission, and the comprehensive report rendered this body. We recognize the fact that this interchange of delegates is productive of a much desired end, namely: the closer relations of the wage-workers of America with their brethren beyond the water.

Your committee would respectfully ask the adoption of the delegates' recommendation in regard to Fraternal Delegates, and request that the Executive Council open correspondence with the British body with a view of having our delegates granted the same privileges as the British delegates to our shores—that of having a voice and vote in sessions of the Congress.

On the question of International trade-unionism your committee would request that the Executive Council enter upon an interchange of opinions as to the subject matter and pursue such course as in their judgment may seem best.

We cannot close this report without adding our mark of attestation to that of the delegates in regard to the noble work of Lady Dilke, and commend her example to the women of America for emulation; also that the American Federation of Labor convey to Lady Dilke a vote of thanks for her efforts in unionizing the working women of Great Britain, thereby improving their condition through the means of trade unionism.

Fraternal Delegate Thomas I. Kidd, whom this body wisely selected to represent it at the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, is also deserving of the thanks of the American Federation of Labor. Being, as he was, the first Fraternal Delegate sent to Canada, he has paved the way for future delegates and done much toward bringing the wage-workers of the two countries closer together. We commend his report to the individual delegates for their careful thought.

In the matter of organization in Canada, we would most heartily endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council, that a sum of not more than \$100 be appropriated annually to aid the efforts of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Adrian M. Jones:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has observed with pleasure and gratification the growth of good feeling and fraternal spirit resultant from the interchange of delegates with Great Britain and Canada; and

WHEREAS, We believe the field and scope of our cause can be broadened; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our Fraternal Delegates to British Trade Congress be instructed to encourage the holding of a grand International Trades' Congress in Paris, France, in the year 1900.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES T. SMITH, Chairman,  
ADRIAN M. JONES, Secretary,  
JACOB J. SCHMALZ,  
JOHN WITZEL,  
FRANK B. MONAGHAN.

It was moved that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Doyle desired to know if the Labor Congress of Great Britain requested the American Federation of Labor to give their delegates voice and vote, and thought it would be better to permit them to use their own judgment.

Delegate O'Rourke moved to strike out that part of the report that instructed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to correspond with the Union Congress of Great Britain, requesting them to grant to the American Federation of Labor delegates voice and vote in their convention.

Motion to strike out adopted.

Committee's report as amended concurred in.

Delegate Kent, for Committee on Organization, submitted the following report:

On resolution No. 65 committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 77 committee reports favorably. Adopted.

Delegate Cahill, for Committee on Rules, submitted the following substitute for resolution No. 75:

We, your Committee on Rules, recommend that all questions coming before this convention be subject to the rules of the convention as heretofore adopted.

Concurred in.

Committee on Local or Federated Unions reported the following substitute for resolution No. 111:

RESOLVED, That we condemn the Allen law, passed by the Fortieth Legislature of Illinois, and endorse the gallant stand made by the people of Chicago in their efforts to obtain municipal ownership and operation of street railways in behalf of the people, and we recommend that the forces of organized labor extend them all the aid and assistance in their power.

It was moved that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Donnelly thought there was no necessity for taking action at the present time on this question, as the attitude of the A. F. of L. was already known on the matter. In Chicago he understood the question was a political one.

Delegate Woodbury said that street railway franchises was not a partisan political question in the city of Chicago, and was opposed to dropping the fight of the people.

Delegate Doyle said the newspaper trust of Chicago had very little to say regarding the fight going on there at this time.

Delegate Elderkin stated the question involved was in the principles as found in the preamble of constitutions of all A. F. of L. bodies, and advocated the municipal ownership of street railways.

Delegate O'Rourke moved the adoption of the report as amended. Carried.

Delegate Kent, for the Committee on Organization, submitted the following report:

On resolution No. 65 committee reports favorably. Report adopted.

On resolution No. 77 committee reports favorably. Report adopted.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Tobin:

RESOLVED, That in view of the oft repeated attacks of employers upon the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, because of alleged arbitrary demands by the union, the American Federation of Labor makes public the following agreement as the basis upon which the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is prepared to do business, either with or without the use of the "union stamp":

#### AGREEMENT.

Between the W. L. Douglas Shoe Company of Brockton, Mass., and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, to remain in force three years from November 1, 1898. All differences to be settled by arbitration.

Agreement entered into this 26th day of October, A. D. 1898, by and between the W. L. Douglas Shoe Company, of Brockton, Mass., shoe manufacturer, party of the first part, and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, party of the second part, witnesseth:

First—The party of the first part agrees that it will employ as boot and shoe workers in its factory in Brockton none but members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in good standing.

Second—That it will not employ any member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, or any other person as a boot and shoe worker, who is objectionable to said Union, either on account of being in arrears for dues or for any other cause, after receiving notice of the objection by some authorized agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, or local union or unions.

Third—That it will not hinder or obstruct the collectors of said union working in its factory in the performance of their duties of collecting the dues of the members of said union due to the respective local unions.

Fourth—That it will not cause or allow the union stamp, which will be supplied to it by the party of the second part, as part of its agreement, to be placed on any goods not made in the factory for which the use of the union stamp was granted.

Fifth—The party of the second part, or its deputy, shall at all times be allowed to visit the factory on business connected with the union stamp.

Sixth—The party of the second part may present to the party of the first part, a bill of prices of the local union or unions, which, if it cannot be agreed upon, shall be referred to

the State Board in the manner provided in paragraph 12.

Seventh—The party of the second part agrees to supply to the party of the first part its union stamp; and that in making prices with the party of the first part, no additional price shall be made for the use of the stamp, which shall be furnished to the party of the first part free of charge; nor shall any discrimination be made between the party of the first part and other firms, persons or corporations who may enter into an agreement with the party of the second part for the use of the union stamp.

Eighth—That all reasonable efforts shall be made by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union to advertise the union stamp, in the public press, trade journals, labor unions, labor conventions and otherwise, and to use every exertion to create a demand for the union stamped goods among consumers.

Ninth—That they will furnish to the party of the first part, when and as often as it may be required, all boot and shoe workers desired by the party of the first part.

Tenth—That the right of the party of the first part to use the union stamp shall be in no way affected by any action of a local union or unions, or by the fact that one or more local unions has withdrawn from or been dismissed from the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Eleventh—Both said parties agree to adjust in an honest and equitable manner all grievances of whatever nature, and all matters of dispute in reference to wages or any other subject, including the true construction of this agreement, that may arise between them, and in case of failure to mutually adjust any dispute or grievance, the party of the first part and the members of the department or departments where such dispute or grievance shall arise, shall join, in the manner provided by statute, in an application to the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration for a decision on the matters or matter in dispute, and the decision of said Board shall be binding upon the party of the first part, the party of the local unions and employees.

Twelfth—A general officer of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union may join with the parties to an application to said Board, and should department be affected by a dispute, the joint council to which the local unions represented in the factory are attached may also join with the parties to the application. A general officer may act as the authorized agent of the employees in the application in any case to the State Board.

Thirteenth—While this agreement remains in force, there shall be no strike declared by any person or persons for any cause, pretext or excuse whatsoever in the factory of the party of the first part, nor shall the party of the first part, for any cause, pretext or excuse whatsoever, cause a lockout against any of its employees. The party of the first part shall suffer no interruption of business during the decision of any dispute or grievance.

Fourteenth—This agreement shall remain in force for three years from November, 1, 1898. Should either party desire to alter, amend or annul this agreement, it shall give a written

notice thereof to the other party/three months before the expiration of the agreement, and if the parties fail to give such notice, the agreement shall continue in force for another year and so on from year to year, until such such notice is given.

Fifteenth.—In case the party of the first part violates the terms of this agreement, directly or indirectly (which may be a matter of dispute to be referred to the State Board of Arbitration), the party of the second part shall have the right to demand and receive from the party of the first part the stamp or stamps delivered to it by the party of the second part under this agreement, and to take the stamp or stamps wherever the same may be, without being liable to any claim for damages or otherwise. The party of the first part agrees that it will surrender said union stamp or stamps on the termination of this agreement or upon the decision of the State Board that it has violated its terms, and that it will make no contest against the party of the second part upon the question of the ownership of said stamp or stamps, but the party of the second part shall be treated and recognized as the owner of the same.

Sixteenth.—No person shall have the right to demand or receive said union stamp from the party of the first part, except the General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, or some person duly authorized by him in writing to receive the same, which authorization shall be signed by the General President and bear the seal of the organization, as affixed hereto. In case the party of the first part shall be unable from any cause to deliver the said stamp to the party of the second part, or whoever may hold the office of General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, or to the person properly authorized by him to receive the said stamp, the party of the first part shall be liable to the party of the second part, or to the party who holds the office of General President, in the sum of \$200, to be recovered by the party of the second part, or whosoever may hold the office of General President of said union, in an action of contract against the party of the first part as liquidated damages.

Seventeenth.—In case the party of the first part shall cease to do business, or shall transfer interest, or any part thereof, to any other person or persons or incorporations, this agreement shall be ended, and the stamp shall be returned to the General President. And in the event of a change in the membership of any firm who shall have entered into this agreement, this agreement shall be ended, and the union stamp returned to the General President, when a new agreement of similar tenor as this may be entered into.

(Signed)

W. L. DOUGLAS SHOE CO.,

By W. L. Douglas, President.  
BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION,  
John F. Tobin, Gen'l President.

Horace M. Eaton, General Secretary-Treas.  
(Seal.)

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 121.—By Delegate Charles Dold:

WHEREAS, The Piano Makers and Piano Varnish Finishers have adopted a label the color of which is pink, to designate a union

instrument from that of a non-union instrument; and

WHEREAS, Said label has been endorsed by the Chicago F. of L. and the State F. of L. of Illinois;

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. hereby endorse the label of the Piano Makers and Piano Varnish Finishers Union.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 122.—By Cigar makers' delegation.

WHEREAS, The Cigar Manufacturers' Association of New York City have combined in a conspiracy not to employ members of the Cigarmakers International Union; these employers encourage tenement house and child labor, and sometimes convict labor, the product being placed on the market as being made by skilled labor, and frequently attempts are made to make it worse by the use of a fraudulent label; and

WHEREAS, When these conditions are minimized in their injurious effects, through the assistance of organized labor, new methods are resorted to by unscrupulous employers in imposing a strike or inaugurating a lockout, designed only to create discontentment among the wage earners. The latest addition to this class of cigar manufacturers is Carl Upman, of New York, who has locked out 400 union cigarmakers, reducing wages 30 per cent, and in place of skilled labor, is now employing young girls to operate machines, the output of which is distributed in every section of the United States. Successful under union conditions for twelve years, this millionaire employer and heartless representative of a cruel class of cigar manufacturers, has declared he will no longer employ union labor; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, will make known to the various National and International Unions, and all bodies affiliated therewith, the unfair and unjust treatment of Carl Upman to his employees; be it further

RESOLVED, That all honorable means be pursued to induce the unionizing of the cigar factories of this country and promoting a greater demand for the union label.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 123.—By Delegate John C. Dornell:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor shall, under the direction of the Executive Council, take in charge the work to prevent the ratification of the treaty of the Paris Peace Commissioners by the United States Senate.

Referred to Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 124.—By Delegate Noonan:

RESOLVED, That in order to carry out the provisions of resolutions already adopted regarding the apportionment of organizers in the Southern and Inter-Mountain States an assessment of 2 cents be and is hereby levied upon each organization (other than central bodies) for each member in good standing at this time, and that this assessment be paid to

the A. F. of L. office on or before April 1, 1899.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 125.—By Delegates John Fahy, T. L. Lewis, John Mitchell and John M. Hunter:

WHEREAS, The laborer is worthy of his hire, therefore the dollar he earns should be the best the sun shines on; it should be worth a hundred cents, and be a legal tender in any market of the world, and he should have the free and untrammelled American privilege of spending it whenever and wherever he wishes; and

WHEREAS, There is now in existence throughout the country, and especially at and around coal mines, a method known as the Company Store System, whereby the laborer is denied his hire, and is by his employer compelled to accept, at exorbitant prices, an inferior grade of goods, "company store truck," instead of cash for his labor; and

WHEREAS, The operation of this pernicious system is working great hardship upon many hundred thousands of our people, and in its effect is responsible, directly and indirectly, for practically one-half of the friction, disputes and troubles that have arisen between miners and their employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon Congress to enact an effective law so far reaching in its provisions as to wipe completely out of existence the cruel and degrading company store system.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 126.—By Delegate James H. Sullivan:

WHEREAS, Wood Workers' Unions Nos. 6 and 9 of Baltimore have instituted a movement to establish a nine-hour day and abolish the piece system. While nearly all the firms involved in the strike conceded to the demands, the F. X. Gauter Company vigorously opposed them, thus jeopardizing the success of the movement in the other factories; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the F. X. Gauter Company be declared unfair and placed upon the "We Don't Patronize List" of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 127.—By Delegate James G. Cain:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and hereby is instructed to use every effort to secure the following amendment to our copyright law; "Provided, that in the case of a book, photograph, engraving, etching, chromo or lithograph, the same shall be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom, or from negatives, or from engraved or etched plates, or drawing on stone, made within the limits of the United States, or from transfers made therefrom, and the importation of the same is prohibited."

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 128.—By Delegates International Typographical Union:

RESOLVED, That the boycott on the firm of Hudson, Kimberly & Co. of Kansas City, Mo., be endorsed and the officers be instructed to notify the officials of the Government of Oklahoma.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 129.—By Delegates Donnelly, O'Rourke, Cain and Morrison:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby reaffirms its position that party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends to its International, National and local organizations continued and increased discussion of economic questions in their conventions and union meetings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 130.—By Delegate M. F. Bradley:

WHEREAS, The Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company, of Kansas City, Mo., has for a number of years been an enemy to organized labor, and has made an incessant fight against the organized printing trades in this and other cities; and

WHEREAS, Typographical Union No. 80 and Kansas City Industrial Council have declared a boycott against the Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby endorses the action of Typographical Union No. 80 and the Industrial Council of Kansas City, Mo.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegate John W. White:

WHEREAS, New York Local No. 1, of the National Alliance granted to one of its members an honorary withdrawal card while he was working in Denver, and which is against the interest of said union; and

WHEREAS, The said party refuses to either quit working with non-union men, or re-affiliate with his union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As the sense of the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, that such action on the part of New York Local No. 1, of the National Alliance, and Mr. Frank Bassett in so working, is contrary to all the fundamental principles as laid down by the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 132.—By Delegate John W. White:

WHEREAS, The members of Denver Local No. 7, of the N. A. T. S. E., are locked out by the management of the Tabor Grand Opera House and the Broadway Theater, in Denver; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the boycott of Denver Local No. 7, of the N. A., and endorsed by the National Alliance of Theatrical Stage Em-

ployes, be endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 133.—By Delegate Max Morris:

Moved, that it is the sense of this Convention that the action of this body in substituting (for the resolution of John Kirby concerning the gold standard) a resolution reaffirming all the former declarations of the A. F. of L. relating to the principle of bi-metallism, does not in any degree mean the abandonment of that principle by the A. F. of L., but means that it is so strongly entrenched in the labor movement that it is not necessary at this time to debate the question.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 134.—By Delegate Geo. F. Kenney:

**RESOLVED**, That no printed matter or communications be received by the A. F. of L., unless it bears the Allied Trades Label, and that all officers and members be cautioned against having their printing done without the Allied Trades Label.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

The following telegrams were read:

Washington, D. C., December 14, 1898.  
Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, Mo.:

Prison bill has been recast. Southwick and Cochran bills made one, prohibiting the carrying of goods from one state to another, and requiring the branding of same as a means of punishing violation of law, has been reported. Will be called up at first opportunity, says Gardiner. **GEORGE CHANCE.**

Atlanta, Ga., December 15, 1898.  
Sam'l Gompers, President A. F. of L., Kansas City, Mo.:

Atlanta Federation of Trade declined to enter Peace Jubilee parade today; reason, colored delegates were excluded; color line

not drawn in labor organizations in the South.

**JEROME JONES,  
H. F. GARRETT,  
E. M. HAGGARTY,**

Committee.

Columbus, O., December 14, 1898.

Samuel Gompers Kansas City, Mo.:

In behalf of citizens of this city I invite Federation to hold its next meeting here.

**SAMUEL L. BLACK, Mayor.**

Detroit, Mich., December 12, 1898.

Samuel Gompers Kansas City, Mo.:

Detroit business men and unionists want you in '99. Please help us.

**O. A. BIERCE, Secretary**

Milwaukee, Wis., December 15, 1898.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, Mo.:

You can rest assured that the people of Milwaukee generally hope that the Federation will honor us with the next year's convention. We will make every effort here by co-operation to assist in making your session here a success.

**MAYOR D. S. ROSE,  
MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION.  
CITIZENS BUSINESS LEAGUE.**

Columbus, O., December 14.

Hon. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Kansas City:

The Columbus Board of Trade warmly extends invitation to your organization to hold its next annual meeting in our city. Our Auditorium is at your disposal without cost, and hospitable treatment generally assured.

**JOHN Y. BASSELL, Sec'y.**

Galveston, Tex., December 14, 1898.

Convention American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, Mo.:

Galveston Labor Council sends you greeting for a successful convention.

**T. W. DEE, President.**

Convention adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

## FIFTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 a.m. by President Gompers.

Roll call.

Absentees: Garrity, Perigny, Grant, Hayes, Carey, Rife, Noonan, Fahey, Smith, Jahns, Cowan, Brush, Pieman, Henry, Morman, Snedegar, White (J. W.), Reynolds, Simpson, Steadman and Rombold.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The following letter was read:

To the American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, Mo.:

Gentlemen—The Liggett & Meyers Tobacco

Company, of St. Louis, begs to present to the officers and delegates to the American Federation of Labor, the accompanying package of Star tobacco—not made by a trust. Very truly,

**LIGGETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.**

Accepted with thanks.

Delegate O'Connell requested permission to read a telegram received from the officers of the Local Machinists' union in Washington, D. C., informing him that a bill had been introduced to pay the machinists for their over time.

Request granted.

Moved by Delegate O'Connell that the Legislative Committee at Washington be instructed to use their best efforts to secure its passage. Adopted.

Delegate McCormick, for Committee on Laws, made the following report:

On Resolution No. 4, that it be referred to Committee on Universal Label.

Carried.

On Resolution No. 39, that it be referred to Committee on Organization. Carried.

Delegate Kent, for Committee on Organization, submitted the following report:

On Resolution No. 55, your Committee reports favorably upon said resolution, amended to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That all applications for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor coming from any branch or department of the textile industry, provided they do not properly come under the jurisdiction of other National organizations, shall be referred to the National Union of Textile Workers of America for final disposition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the aforesaid National Union of Textile Workers of America shall be the proper source to determine what branch or department of the textile industry is within the jurisdiction of said National Union of Textile Workers of America.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 89 the committee reports favorably.

Delegate Cowen asked whether, if the resolution passed, a steam engineer would have to withdraw from the Machinists' Union.

Delegate O'Connell stated that the Machinists union did not want men who should belong to another organization.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Elderkin, for the Committee on Labels and Boycotts, reported as follows:

On Resolution No. 119 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 114 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

Delegate Bechtold stated that the Brewery Workers local in Chicago had been refused a seat in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

On Resolution No. 114, committee recommend favorable action.

Recommendation adopted.

On Resolution No. 108, committee recommend reaffirming the boycott on Donohue & Henneberry, printers, of Chicago, and on W. B. Conkey & Co., of Hammond, Ind., recommended that it be referred to the incoming committee of the Executive Council.

Delegate Morrison moved to amend the Committee's report by striking out the committee's recommendation on the W. B. Conkey Co., and insert after the word "Chicago" the words "and W. B. Conkey & Co., of Hammond, Ind.," so that it will read as follows:

RESOLVED, That the boycott on the firms of Donohue & Henneberry, printers, of Chicago, and W. B. Conkey & Co., printers, of Hammond, Ind., be reaffirmed.

Delegate O'Sullivan submitted the following amendment to the amendment:

That the incoming Executive Council be requested to issue a circular to local or central labor bodies, requesting that they do everything possible to prevent the purchase of products of the firms of Donohue & Henneberry, and Conkey & Co., by their respective local school authorities have the power to make such purchases.

Delegate O'Sullivan's amendment was adopted.

Delegate Morrison's amendment as amended, adopted.

Resolution No. 118, as amended was adopted.

On Resolution No. 103 the committee submitted the following substitute and recommended its adoption:

WHEREAS, The American and Continental Tobacco Companies, by the employment of cheap and unorganized labor, and through their unprecedented efforts to control the tobacco trade, thereby making it extremely difficult to organize the tobacco workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all trade unionists, wherever found, to buy no tobacco unless it be made by the firms who employ union workers and bear the Tobacco Workers union label.

Delegate Mahon moved to concur in report of committee.

Delegate Miller desired the convention to understand that the Liggett & Myers Company was the only large tobacco manufacturers not connected with the tobacco trust; that it was arrayed against the trust and was the firm friend of organized labor, and thought the name of the firm should remain in the resolution. He therefore moved to amend the name of Liggett & Myers be placed in the resolution.

Delegate O'Connell opposed the amendment on the ground it would discriminate against the interests of the tobacco workers who are organized and employed in other factories.

Delegate Witzel was opposed to the amendment and was opposed to inserting the name of any firm in the resolution.

Delegate Elderkin favored the report of the committee.



Delegate White said he hoped the resolution would pass as reported by the committee; that Liggett & Myers could be recognized later on.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Lewis, for the Committee on Executive Council's Report, submitted the following:

To the Officers and Representatives of the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled:

We, the undersigned committee, appointed to examine the annual report of the Executive Council, submit the following for your consideration:

(1) With reference to legislation, we earnestly approve of the work of the Executive Council in directing legislation in behalf of the laboring people, and recommend their action in selecting Mr. George Chance to assist Mr. Furuseth as a Legislative Committee-man at the National Capital.

Adopted.

During the reading of the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, Delegate Cable was called to the chair.

In regard to the dispute between Brotherhoods of Painters and Decorators the following recommendation has been submitted by the Executive Council and approved by the Committee:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, with headquarters at Baltimore, Md., decided at their general convention at Buffalo, N. Y., March 16, 1898, to accept the resolutions adopted by the Executive Council, February 21, 1898, providing for a Conference Committee to arrange terms of amalgamation between the two conflicting organizations of painters, and appointed a Conference Committee for that purpose.

WHEREAS, The seceding body of painters, with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., has decided, by a general vote of its members, not to appoint a Conference Committee, and declined to accept the resolutions sent them by the Executive Council; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we recognize the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, with headquarters at Baltimore, Md., as the regular organization properly affiliated with the A. F. of L., and the organization of painters with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., as a seceding body from the regularly recognized body known as the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America; and

RESOLVED, That we request all unions and central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L., to cease giving any encouragement, countenance, or assistance to any local union of the seceding body of painters with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., nor shall the latter order be allowed representation in any central body affiliated with the A. F. of L.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, in adopting these resolutions, does so only as a last alternative, after making every honorable endeavor to bring about amalgamation or unity of the two Painters' organizations, and is firmly convinced that it is not at present the disposition of the seceding Painters' or-

ganization, with headquarters at Lafayette, Ind., to agree to any arrangement that does not involve the stultification of the parent body of painters now affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Moved that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Doyle stated the question was of importance to the general labor movement throughout the country; and that when workmen's organizations were known as individual factions it was bad for the labor movement. It was important that the Convention should take some immediate action to remedy this matter. He was speaking for the Central bodies of his city, and this question affected them seriously. Let a grievance come before a central body, let the result be what it may, it was felt by labor throughout the country. He opposed any resolution that would divide a body of organized workmen. The passage of this resolution, which declares that 5,000 men of Chicago are not trade unionists, is wrong, for he knew the contrary to be true. Their organization is legitimate, they have a scale of wages, carry a card and obey all requirements made of union men.

Delegate Lewis stated that the committee had invited what is known as the seceding section to appear before it. Mr. Barrett responded, but desired the committee to conduct the investigation upon certain rules of his dictation, which the committee declined to do. Another representative of the same faction demanded that members of the other should be forever barred from the union. The committee could not accept these propositions and submitted the report under consideration in the interest of harmony.

Delegate Woodbury said the painters of Chicago were good union men. The painters affiliated with the Building Trades Council of Chicago were of the Barrett faction, and supposed the same conditions there existed in all parts of the country. He suggested that further time be granted so that the officers of the American Federation of Labor, effect a settlement, and if that could not be done, let the faction now represented step out and let them come back together. He thought the whole question should be heard by the Convention before taking the position advised by the resolution.

Delegate Dold moved that Mr. Barrett be granted the privilege of the floor. He said Delegate Sullivan was on the inside and had every facility for being heard, and Mr. Barrett had not.

Delegate Sullivan said he had no better opportunity for being heard than Mr. Barrett.

Delegate Cake opposed the motion to hear Mr. Barrett, as he had been given a hearing at all times before the Executive Council and the committee.

Delegate Fitzgerald had confidence in any committee which had considered the matter and was in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Dold said the question was of such moment that it should be placed fairly before the Convention. He would abide by the decision of the Convention. He declared the so-called Barrett faction had two members to one of the other. If the Convention permits outsiders to address it, it was just that those directly interested in the labor movement should be heard.

Delegate Shaffer said he had the utmost confidence in the desire of the committee to do just work. He had information he thought, which was not in possession of the committee. He had heard that Messrs. Elliott and Barrett had both expressed a desire to step down and out, and thought that if Mr. Barrett were given a hearing the difficulty could be amicably adjusted.

Delegate Lennon stated that, as the Executive officer of the Tailors' Union, he had received communications from many cities, deploring the condition existing in this respect. He thought the factions should be given until May 14 to settle their differences.

Delegate McGuire declared that for five successive conventions this matter had been before the body. By our procrastinations we have strengthened the Barrett or contesting faction and weakened the one affiliated with the A. F. of L. In behalf of peace, in the interest of harmony, the Executive Council had patiently heard this case. He was opposed to extending time for settlement of this question beyond March 1, but thought it would be best to settle now for all time.

Delegate Sullivan was not opposed to granting Mr. Barrett the privilege of stating his case to the Convention, but did not think it would result in good. He denounced the publication issued by the Barrett faction and declared its utterances were false. He stated that at the Buffalo Convention all the officers resigned their positions, and did not wish a reelection. If the men holding official positions in the Barrett faction will relinquish their positions we will affiliate with them. Our Boston unions, are the equal of any, even that

of Chicago. He hoped the two organizations would get together on the proposition of the Executive Council. If the other side would do that, they would join with them. The claim has been made that they outnumber us two to one. If that is so they can elect all the officers and control the organization, and the men he represented would be true and loyal.

Delegate Shaffer asked Delegate Sullivan if he had any reason to believe, if Mr. Barrett were permitted to come before the Convention, he would not make a proposition to amalgamate.

Delegate Sullivan replied that he did not oppose granting Mr. Barrett the privilege of the floor.

Delegate Mahon asked if Mr. Elliott had refused to resign. Delegate Sullivan replied that he had not.

Delegate O'Brien thought the committee's report was one of the fairest ever offered in cases of this character. At Nashville it was ordered that the matter be taken in hand by the Executive Council. Mr. Barrett said his members refused to accept the proposition. The committee did their utmost to bring about harmony. Mr. Barrett offered to give up all the offices except that of Treasurer. He wanted that for himself. He refused to accept the propositions offered. It is the Convention's own fault that the matter had not been settled long ago. The American Federation of Labor should back up its rulings, and it would avoid trouble of this character.

Delegate Duncan said that union men in convention do not give recalcitrant members the consideration they have received at the hands of this Convention. He reviewed the past action of the American Federation of Labor on the matter. The Baltimore faction had paid all dues and assessments and had been in good standing at all times. The failure of the Convention to dispose of the matter definitely at previous sessions is the cause of all the trouble at this time. He wanted it decided now. The report of the committee he declared was fair.

President Gompers favored hearing Mr. Barrett. Every man who has had interviews with Mr. Barrett on this question is convinced that Mr. Barrett was wrong. He wanted the delegates to hear Mr. Barrett and let him convince them he was in the wrong.

President Gompers moved that Mr. Barrett be granted the floor for a period of twenty minutes, and that an additional ten minutes thereafter be devoted to asking Mr. Barrett

questions relative to the matter under discussion. Adopted.

Mr. Barrett came forward and said he felt very proud to appear before the A. F. of L. He stated that Mr. Sullivan had not answered questions put to him before the committee. He said he represented the Elliott faction, and declared that the call for a special convention of the Painters' Union, which he claimed was turned down by Delegate Sullivan, was legal. He declared the Chicago union was not the only large one they had. We have taken sixty-seven unions from you since January 1. We have opened our treasury and made presents in an effort to help you out. During the strike in Indianapolis we offered to expel men from our unions who went to work there. I notified all our members they must not go to work there during the strike.

Delegate Driscoll asked Mr. Barrett: Did you admit sixty-seven locals since January last, and are they connected with the central trades in said city?

Answer: Yes, when in said city a central trade exists.

Delegate O'Brien asked Mr. Barrett if he met Mr. Gompers in Indianapolis.

Mr. Barrett said he met President Gompers there and he told him the instructions of the convention did away with the resolutions of the Executive Council.

President Gompers asked him why he did not submit the Executive Council's recommendation. "Did you not say to me that you would only consider it when you received a communication from Mr. Kneeland?"

President Gompers desired to know if he did not refuse to submit the Executive Council's recommendation. He replied by asking President Gompers if he had not told him the instructions to the committee did not do away with the resolutions of the A. F. of L.

President Gompers wanted to know if he did not say he would refuse to abide by or submit the resolutions to his unions. He replied by asking if he had not been told the instructions to committee did not do away with the resolutions of the Executive Council.

President Gompers asked him if he did not meet him in Lafayette and ask him to submit the resolutions to his Executive Board. He answered in the affirmative.

By President Gompers: "Did you not reply that you would not?" "Yes," answered Mr. Barrett.

Q. Did you not say you would not meet any one to discuss the question of unity or amalgamation of the Painters organizations?

A. Yes.

Q. You sent telegrams. Were not telegrams received by you?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you not a member of what is known as the Elliott faction?

A. I was a member at that time.

Q. When did you withdraw?

A. About March 15, 1895.

By Delegate Mills: Was there ever a concerted movement made by the faction to which you belong in the direction of an amalgamation?

A. No, sir.

By Delegate McGuire: Did you say that you admitted sixty-seven organizations since last January?

A. Yes.

Q. In your official publication ninety unions appear in the roster of your union.

A. We have lost about twenty unions.

Q. Did your circulars go through the usual channels?

A. No.

By Delegate Fitzgerald: Did not the president of the Elliott faction say he was in favor of stepping down and out?

A. No.

Q. Has the Elliott faction refused terms of amalgamation since February 21, 1898?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe the Lafayette faction will affiliate on lines proposed by the Executive Council?

A. That will have to be left to the membership.

Q. Will you permit a member of the Executive Council to submit the proposition to your members?

A. That will have to be left to the members.

By President Gompers: Has the Lafayette faction refused to amalgamate?

A. Yes.

Q. Is your body prepared to agree to a basis of amalgamation at the present time?

A. Yes.

By Delegate Sullivan: Our organization has accepted the proposition for settlement, and we want amalgamation on those lines. Is your organization willing to agree to the same?

A. We are willing to agree.

By Delegate Bowman: Will the Lafayette

faction abide by the decision of the A. F. of L.?

A. They will have to abide by the decision of the membership?

By President Gompers: Will Mr. Barrett, as secretary, favor the proposition?

A. Yes.

By Delegate Woodbury: Was the convention of the Painters and Decorators Convention, held at Cleveland, called regularly?

A. Eminent lawyers said we were a legal convention.

By Delegate Doyle: Did not your union withdraw from the Elliott faction about five months after the refusal of Elliott to resign?

A. Yes, we withdrew in 1895.

Q. Was not the reason you withdrew because he failed to keep his agreement with the A. F. of L.?

A. Yes.

Delegate Sullivan stated that Mr Barrett's union seceded eight months before any agreement had been reached.

President Gompers moved to amend by adding to the amendment the following: "And that these resolutions be in full force and effect until the seceding faction agrees to the proposition contained in the resolutions adopted by the Convention, having for their purpose the unity and amalgamation of the painters of the country."

Delegate Doyle rose to protest against the resolution. He did not believe that the Lafayette faction were seceders. At the convention from which it is claimed they seceded they elected Mr. Elliott a delegate to the A. F. of L. and the delegate was seated.

Delegate Duncan said Mr. Elliott was not a delegate to the Denver Convention.

Delegate McGuire arose to a point of order: That the question under discussion was not past actions of the convention, but the resolution pending.

Delegate Doyle permitted a delegate to consume a portion of his time to ask questions. The Chair ruled he was not entitled to the floor. An appeal was taken from the decision of the Chair. The Chair was sustained by a vote of 42 to 13.

The previous question was moved.

Delegate Fitzgerald demanded roll call. Only ten voting therefor, it was lost.

Delegate Doyle arose to a point of order: That the A. F. of L. was responsible for the condition of affairs in the Painters Union at this time.

Ruled out of order.

Delegate Doyle arose to a question of parliamentary inquiry: Whether the previous question closed all debate.

The Chair ruled that it did.

Delegate Doyle arose to a question of privilege. Ruled out of order.

Delegate Fitzgerald arose to a point of order. That the motion was on the question as amended. Ruled out of order.

Delegate Doyle arose to a question of personal privilege. Ruled out of order.

Delegate Dold desired to know if the demand for roll call was denied.

Delegate Doyle arose to a point of order: That the chairman was interested in the question at issue.

The Chair stated that the portion in which he was interested had been passed while he was out of the chair.

The motion was then adopted.

Delegate Kent said he desired to go on record as voting no, because he was not satisfied that the Barrett faction was the seceding body; otherwise he favored the resolution.

Delegates P. F. Doyle, Charles Dold, Braunschweig, Elderkin and Brown requested that they be recorded as voting no.

Adjourned at 12:45.

## FIFTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Called to order at 2 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Roll Call.

Absentees: Garrity, Morman, Reynolds, Simpson.

Delegate Elderkin, for the committee on Labels and Boycotts, submitted the following:

Upon representations made to your committee by District Organizer H. C. Smalley, of Galesburg, Ill., which are supported by correspondence submitted and now in the hands of your committee, regarding the Monmouth Pottery Co., the Monmouth Mining and Manufacturing Co., and the Maple City Soap Works, all of Monmouth, Ill., now on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor, which representa-

tions and correspondences seem to give assurance that a satisfactory settlement can be reached, your committee recommends that the President of the Federation of Labor, or a committee appointed by him, visit Monmouth, Ill., at his or their earliest convenience, to investigate as to the causes of the disagreement, and to endeavor to effect a settlement and the organization of the men employed by the companies involved.

J. O'CONNELL, Chairman,  
T. J. ELDERKIN, Secretary,  
G. N. KEEFER,  
C. N. BECHTOLD,  
S. AUTLER,  
G. A. WHITAKER,  
J. G. CAIN.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

Delegate John B. Lennon, for Committee on Laws, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Laws have carefully considered resolutions Nos. 1, 6, 33, 52 and 78, and respectfully report adversely. We submit the following as, in our opinion, the true and correct trade union position on the question raised by the various propositions referred to: We heartily recommend the cordial acceptance of all assistance that may be given the trade union movement by all reform forces, the Socialist political parties included. The hope and aspiration of the trade unionist is closely akin to that expressed by the Socialist, that the burdens of toil may be made lighter, that men shall possess larger liberty, that the future shall be better than the past may properly be the ideals of those of all movements who really desire labor emancipation. We appreciate, however, that men, because of different environments through life, must of necessity reach different conclusions, if not as to ends to be attained, certainly so as to roads to be traveled to the goal desired. We affirm the trade union movement to be the legitimate channel through which the wage earners of America should seek present amelioration and future emancipation. We hold that the trade unions of America as comprised in the A. F. of L., do not now and never have declared against the discussion of economic and political questions in the meetings of their respective unions. We are committed against the endorsement of, or introduction of, partisan politics, religious differences, or race prejudices. We hold it to be the duty of trade unionists to study and discuss all questions that have any bearing upon their industrial or political liberty, but we declare that it is not within the province of the A. F. of L. to designate to which political party a member shall belong, or for which political party he shall vote.

Respectfully submitted,  
JOHN B. LENNON, Chairman,  
JOSEPH VALENTINE,  
ROBERT KELLY,  
W. F. LEIGH,  
A. J. CASEY,  
J. F. McCORMICK.

Moved by Delegate Mills and seconded by Delegate Keefer that the report of the Committee on Laws be concurred in.

Delegate Carey offered a substitute.

Chair decided substitute out of order.

Delegate Mahon contended that Delegate Carey had the right to offer a substitute.

Delegate Carey said he did not wish to tangle matters up, but merely asked if he had a right at this time to submit a substitute.

President Gompers answered by saying that the report of the committee is practically a substitute for the proposition which had been submitted to them.

Delegate Mahon said Delegate Carey had a right to offer a substitute, and the only foolish thing Delegate Carey did was to ask if he had the right.

Delegate Lloyd said that he thought it would be in order for Delegate Carey to move his substitute as an amendment to the report of the Committee on Laws.

Mr. Tobin said that it could be deferred for further consideration until the Committee on Laws could report upon resolution No. 107, and moved that it be deferred until they had considered it.

Delegate Donnelly requested Secretary Morrison to read the following resolution, introduced by the Typographical delegation, in accordance with resolution passed by the International Typographical Union convention.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby reaffirms its position that party politics, whether they be democratic, republican, populist, prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommends to its international, national and local organizations continued and increased discussion of economic questions in their convention and union meetings.

Delegate Donnelly said that at different times, particularly in the Typographical Union, there had been a stagnation of the interest in union affairs for the simple reason that it affected the wage-earners, and that it was a fact that canvasses of straw votes are taken frequently of men in the shops employed in printing offices in New York City, and invariably these straw votes show how they stand upon the political issues. For instance, during the last Presidential election a straw vote was taken, and it showed 75 or 80 per cent of the members of the Typographical Union were in favor of and agitated free silver. Another straw vote was taken at the last election, and it was about equally divided between the two great political parties. I merely wish, in conclusion, to say that I positively oppose the introduction of political discussion in the union meetings.

Delegate Cowen read resolution and then said that the convention had the subject of "expansion" under discussion yesterday, and this mixing of the trade union in politics was no more political than that. He appealed to the Convention not to put that resolution into the constitution.

Delegate Tobin requested permission to withdraw his motion to re-commit.

Leave to withdraw granted.

Delegate Tobin submitted the following as an amendment to the report of the committee:

RESOLVED, That this Convention, believing that the labor problem will be solved only when the lands and means of production and distribution and exchange are held as common property, and that the trade union movement, together with political action on class lines, are the best methods to reach this end, we, therefore, commend trade unionists to vote only for such political parties as stand for the principles enunciated herein.

Delegate O'Rourke said that we will accomplish a great deal more by the ballot than by any other way; that we can pass resolutions here to send to Congress and that is the end. He read a clipping from a paper to the effect that the workingman must take it into his own hands and act by the ballot; you will find the workmen divided on election day and letting their interests be trampled upon. Are we going to continue to tolerate this?

Delegate Keefer said there was only one objection to the amendment offered by Delegate Tobin, and that is that clause, as I understand it, where it endorses any political party.

Delegate Carey said that Delegate Tobin's resolution covered the same ground that he intended to make. That the people of Haverhill, Mass., found they could do nothing without organization, and they organized the Socialist Democratic party and elected two men to the Legislature who demanded their rights be recognized, that the laborers be no longer made tools of capital. Submitted that it was not his intention to cram down the throat of the delegates that the success of the trade union movement depended upon this Convention entirely, but every workman wanted a remedy and a means to remedy it through some source. We should set the mark so we can accomplish something which means our emancipation. The next year the Socialist Democratic party elected the Mayor and six Councilmen, and had the power to tell the capitalists that the laboring classes' rights should be respected. I am a member of the

Social Democratic party, but I do not propose to vote for the endorsement of that party.

Delegate Hayes was in favor of the amendment as proposed by Delegate Tobin, and would be in favor of the preamble, provided it did not conflict with the amendment; that he could not endorse some points. He said there had been no progress in the trade union the past six years. We want the power of controlling economic and political situations. The improvements in machinery and the mobilization of wealth into trusts were grinding the laborers down. At the present time there are 170 to 175 trusts in the United States, and there was no law against the big trusts swallowing up the small ones. The entire United States would be bound down by J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller. The most damnable policy was that of government by injunction, which took place in almost every strike. In the great wire strike we held up 1,600 men, and they refused to accept the reduction of from 33 1-3 to 65 per cent and were kicked out into the street, after building up the institution, and blacklisted all over the United States. He wanted the delegates to take some progressive steps to inspire our trade unionists who have lost courage and said that by organizing and voting upon all economic questions they can get a gigantic power, and then they can accomplish something and on election day use their ballots to effect.

Delegate McGuire said he was opposed to the amendment and in favor of the report of the committee. All the indictments made here by Delegates Carey and Hayes against the revolutionizing influence of machinery, the influence of trusts, the misuse of injunctions and military power have again and again been endorsed by all trade unionists, but the difference between us is one as to practice and methods. It is said the trade union movement is stagnant; that wages have been reduced and no progress has been made for years. In 1878 we had only nine National Unions, and now we have sixty-eight. We have never made it a test of membership in the American Federation of Labor, or in any trade union, that a member should belong to any particular political party or endorse any economic creed. To do so now at this Convention would be to break faith with our members. It is charged here, because we favored free silver, we have taken political action and tied ourselves to the Democratic party. That is not true, for we endorsed free silver in 1893, three years before the Democratic party adopted it

in its national platform. Because some of us stand firmly by the historical unitary and cohesive character of the trade union movement, as heretofore expounded by the American Federation of Labor, we are called "pure and simple." Better any time a pure and simple trade unionist than an impure and complex confusionist. Let us put an end to this continual political spirit-rapping, guided, as it is, by theoretical, speculative extremists. It is time we notified the men of isms and schisms in a labor movement that the trade union can never be side-tracked or befogged by economic theories or debatable small-potato politics. In this country let us use all political parties. Place them on record and show our people their short-comings when they do not meet our demands. Elect trade unionists to every office and advance them on every possible occasion. Divest ourselves of petty jealousies. Arouse cohesive class feeling among the workers by industrial conflicts when forced upon us by unfair employers. Make the industrial struggle more intense so that the ties of unionism will grow stronger, and out of it all will eventually come the Labor party—a party clear-headed and conscious of its status and its rights—not blear-eyed and befogged by the seductions of any ism, but arouse to a course of action well proven and made necessary by tried experience.

Delegate Reid said he believed in coupling something else with his unionism; we have to go to Washington and ask them to legislate when we could just as well legislate ourselves. One of our delegates said that wages are as high or higher now than before in many branches. I beg to differ with him, though I am a unionist through and through; but because I am a trade unionist, I am not fool enough to stand in the way of a man with the interests of our fellows at heart. We should be for the immediate emancipation of our fellows and relieve our sufferings and do it ourselves.

Delegate Blain said that the Socialist Labor party had not proven itself the friend of the trade unionists; that it had a chance to help the cause of labor in the last campaign, and the campaign before that, but it would not co-operate with the party which would and could help labor, but tried to disrupt it; that he was from the state where this actually happened—Kansas; that he was a Socialist himself, but not of the kind who tried to tear down what others built up. He was in favor of endorsing that party.

Delegate O'Sullivan said he was opposed to affiliating with any party; that the Socialist

Labor party is always in trouble. Said it was better not to mix up with politics, for then when some politician was elected and labor wanted something, it stood a great deal better show of getting it, if it had not been opposed to his political views.

Delegate Mahon said he had always stood squarely and honestly for trade unionism, but did believe in socialism, but not as it is represented by the Socialist Labor party, for he disagreed with the tactics of their organization; but the question before this Convention is the resolution of Mr. Tobin; that question was whether it was better to join or endorse some political party on class lines and which was the best method to reach the result. I do not care to talk history; we all know the past and its mistakes; it is the future that confronts us; we came here to discuss this shoulder to shoulder, and not as enemies, but as trade unionists. Let us see if you will carry out the declarations that you confess; come, friends, and stand up and be honest. Do you believe in the principles of trade unionism and that the proper solution is the political puzzle? You say, don't talk politics. What do you want us to talk? Every one of you talk politics from morning to night; I spoke for the silver party over in Michigan the last campaign, because I thought it was right. My friends, I say to you that you must be progressive. They will not permit us to run our boycotts after awhile, by preventing them by injunction, and with this weapon in their hands it is hard to tell what will happen. But the ballot is our weapon. You say let us meet it as trade unionists; I say to you, let us meet it as Socialists; why, you have been meeting it as trade unionists since 1860. We are not denying that our trade unionism has given good results.

Delegate Mills discussed the subject from the standpoint of one whose experience as a representative of the National Union of Textile Workers of America had been a bitter one; that during the years the former organization had been predominated over by the representatives of the Socialist Labor Party the textile workers organization had degenerated, their treasury depleted, and coupled with this had lost thousands of members, and that it was not until the National Union of Textile Workers of America returned, had returned to straight trade union lines, that any success had been achieved. He was convinced that it was only by adhesion to the principles set forth in the preamble and constitution of the A. F. of L. could any beneficial measure of reform be accomplished, hence he would



vote to concur with the report of the committee.

Delegate Lennon stated that some of the delegates have said they are very honest; they are not the only honest people in the world. Some say we cannot obtain what we desire unless we endorse or enter into politics. I will tell you how we will gain control of the tailor trades without joining the Socialist Labor party. We expect to do it by means of organization, and without that all the Socialist Labor parties in the world cannot help us. This is the first time in my life I have ever said a word against the Socialist Labor party. We have never denied the right to discuss political rights; have denied the right of endorsement of partisan politics, but that is an entirely different question.

Delegate Cahill said that Delegate Lennon had almost taken the words out of his mouth. Each laborer ought to be a politician and be educated on the issues, making it unionism first and politics second; we have bad men in the Democratic party and in the Republican party, and if we should join with the Socialist Labor party, how are you going to keep the bad men out of that party? If you will show me how to keep the bad men out, then I am with you.

Delegate Tobin said he was a trade unionist, and thoroughly convinced that it was an absolute necessity, and, secondly, he was a Socialist. The resolution before us now is not the endorsement of the Socialist party, nor the endorsement of any particular party; we are simply endorsing the principle as to whether we can endorse some party when the occasion arises, and I am here to defend that principle. You will say, What is the strength of our organization? If it has lost, it is not attributable to Socialism. It is because of the oppressions of employers. Socialists are the very best of trade unionists. I defy any man to show to the contrary. If this resolution is not passed today, it will be some other day, and I believe it will pass today. Why put it off? He said he had been advised that President Gompers will vote the Socialist-Democratic ticket, and he will so advise others. He said we ought not to endorse the Socialist Labor party; we should endorse the right party at the right time, but we want to establish that right and principle now and not put it off. It is the proper thing for us to endorse it today. Don't put it off till next year. If we elect men who turn away from the platform they are elected on they can be relegated to the rear.

Delegate Donnelly moved that the time be extended until 6:30 and then a vote be taken. Objected to.

Delegate Kidd stated that Clarence S. Darrow expressed a wish to have his address taken down by a stenographer.

President Gompers stated that it would be attended to.

Chairman McNeill, of the special Committee of Industrial Commission, informed President Gompers that several members appointed on the committee were unable to attend. He therefore appointed, subject to approval of the Convention, the following: Delegates Hahn, Shamp and McEwen.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Edward B. Sabine:

WHEREAS, The firm of Ab Kirschbaum & Co., clothing manufacturers of Philadelphia, Pa., have compelled their employees to sign a document to the detriment of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The firm of Ab Kirschbaum & Co. refuse to recognize union conditions; and

WHEREAS, The National organization of the United Garment Workers of America has placed a boycott on the clothing manufactured by the firm of Ab Kirschbaum & Co.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, endorse the boycott on the firm of Ab Kirschbaum & Co., and that the Secretary be instructed to notify all National and International bodies affiliated therewith.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Thomas I. Kidd:

WHEREAS, The corporations and other moneyed institutions of the country are in the habit of calling on the courts, especially the Federal courts, to aid them in the conflict between capital and labor, and to issue injunctions against bodies of workmen who are upon a strike, and send them to jail for contempt of court; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such action of courts is an innovation upon the rights of the people, a violation of the right of trial by jury and a serious menace to the liberties of the working people; and

WHEREAS, Such action has grown to an alarming extent within the past few years and has reached a point that a judge is always found to issue an injunction order when petitioned by the attorneys of a strong and influential corporation, and men are constantly being sent to jail under the arbitrary powers of courts without trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, The law necessarily leaves courts to interpret the meaning of statutes and constitutions, and thus pass upon their own rights and powers, and that the arbitrary power of courts can only be checked by the constitutional remedy of impeachment where arbitrary power is wrongfully and unjustly used; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we consider it one of the first duties of organized labor, and all friends of labor, to take an emphatic stand against the unjust and tyrannical power of the courts, and against the growing evil of government by injunction, which threatens to subvert the liberties of the working people of America, and that we call upon Congress to fully investigate the cases where injunctions have been issued against workmen, and to provide such laws and remedies as will prevent such arbitrary use of power by the courts.

RESOLVED, That we believe that the judges should stand in the same position as every other officer of the government, and every power and safeguard be exercised to protect the people against unjust encroachments from judges, as from all other officials, and that the power of impeachment should be used in all cases where courts have clearly violated the law and the constitutional rights of the people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Homer D. Call:

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. hereby expresses its appreciation and thanks to the labor press of the country for the general and gratuitous publication of the union labels of our trade unions; and we also attest our appreciation and thanks to W. R. Hearst, of New York, for his generous issuance and distribution of a "Union Label Bulletin," with *fac similes* in the original colors, of all our trade union labels. We urge a more general advertisement and agitation of union labels and union label products, and send greetings and thanks to all who may render us any aid in the advancement of the great cause toward which our movement is devoted.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Adjourned at 5:30 p. m.

## SIXTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 A. M. by President Compers.

On motion the roll call was dispensed with.

On motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Consideration of the amendment offered by Delegate Tobin was resumed.

Delegate Zorn was in favor of labor organizations taking part in politics, and claimed that they would have to do so sooner or later. There is no use in putting it off; we might as well enter the political arena now in order to prevent the courts from continuing their injunctions and denying us the right to boycott. The only solution for the wage-earner is Socialism. He asked the hearty endorsement of the Convention for the Socialist party.

Delegate Kidd said that a great many members confounded Socialists with Socialism. He could remember how the Socialists attacked him and the labor organizations, declaring the latter bankrupt. The delegates ought to know by this time that Socialism is not the enemy of organized labor. The report of the committee will scarcely suit the wage-workers of this country; it is not progressing fast enough; yet we want to be cautious and every step we make should be a sure step. Said he had heard, and knew it to be a fact, that in Pennsylvania the mine owners had made it a rule to put men of the different nationalities in gangs, who could not speak the same language, in order to prevent them discussing

politics. Politics entering into our organization, at the right time, may be the way but not the only way of emancipating the working people.

Delegate Dold said that of all who had advocated the entering of politics into our organization, not one had spoken but had to apologize for the way the Socialist party had acted toward organized labor. Our working people need education as to their rights, and must not be expected to take up a new and unknown policy without time to study it. We have a few officials who fail to respond to the crack of the whip of the monopolies—the Governors of Illinois and Colorado. Mr. Carey said that in his city they had elected two Socialists to the Legislature, Mayor and some Councilmen, and that they were their friends in case of trouble of any kind; the police force and the Treasurer of that city were all friends of the people. He wanted to know, if they were elected as trade unionists, would they not do just as much? He was opposed to our organizations entering into politics.

Delegate Elderkin stated that he belonged for five years to a Socialist club and heard the same story for the past few years. He believed in leaving this political question out of our organizations.

Delegate Bechtold wanted the Convention to adopt the resolution of Delegate Tobin.

Delegate Shaffer was called to the chair.

Delegate Bowman said he wanted to be placed on record as a trade unionist. It is

well known among trade unionists that the parties who are seeking at this time to inject into the American Federation of Labor socialistic views and politics are the ones we have had to contend with, and who would, if they could, disrupt the labor organizations. He believed that the conservative policy now being pursued by the executive officers, and apparently the majority of the delegates, to be the wise policy and wished to repeat that he was unalterably opposed to the introduction of politics into our organizations, especially at this time.

Delegate Duncan said he was glad that these radical gentlemen were here and brought face to face with the men whom they have condemned and ridiculed for a long time. On one hand we find them asking us to endorse Socialism and on the other hand to endorse the Social Democratic party. I am in favor of the resolution as offered by Delegate Lennon.

Delegate Fitzgerald stated that he could not say that he opposed the first part of the resolution, but he did oppose the latter part of it. He contended that the time was not yet ripe for us to enter upon such a position. Trade unionism has progressed in this country. No man who is alive to the conditions will dare deny that the laborer is, in a measure, by virtue of the trade unionists, receiving some little fruits of his toil. We should endeavor to educate the people along the line of trade unionism. If there is a lack of interest, it is because we are not organized fully. If we are to be emancipated—if labor is to be freed—it is to be done through trade unionism and the American Federation of Labor.

President Compers said that, to him, this question is one of a very important nature. It is one which involves the entity and the integrity of the labor movement. Either the trade union movement is right or it is wrong, and the trade unionists must declare for trade unionism, without frills or feathers, or it is a confession that we are wrong. I contend that the trade-union movement is the history of the development of the labor movement—of the expression, aye, the crystallized expression of discontent of the workers. "By their deeds shall ye know them," rather than by their honeyed and smooth words, with which they seek to allure our movement into such a vortex of complications and capture our movement as a tail to their political party kite. If they were to express themselves in this Convention as they do outside of it they would not be tolerated in the Convention two

minutes, and I propose to succinctly call attention to the difference between the mask and the real face of the Socialists who advocate and have presented the proposition contained in the amendment to this resolution now before the house, and which embodies the idea which would disrupt this organization. They have done all they could to mistreat the organization and wage-earners in the trade unions, and to disrupt them. Aye, one of the parties referred to called a convention for the purpose of forming a rival to the American Federation of Labor—a rival to the trade unionist movement, a rival to the economic movement, and at the convention they had upon the broad streamer decorating the chairman's stand, emblazoned in colors of red: "Wreck the Old Trade Unions; Pull for the Shore of Socialism." They have besmirched the name of Labor and sought to destroy our organization; they have attacked the honor, fidelity and manliness and the principles of the men who have tried to stand by the workers in their natural struggle for bettering the conditions of today. The men who did not grope, but have fought in the struggle and have never shirked their duty nor their responsibilities, the trade unionists, have met the problems as they arise, and are willing, not simply to indulge in what is known as radical resolutions or radical talk, but enter right into the midst of the battle and take the responsibilities, no matter what the result might be to them.

Delegate Furuseth said the error which had been made was to claim that the strike and boycott are failures. The employers used to tell us that some fourteen years ago. Some of our friends say that the strike doesn't amount to anything, don't do any good and will fritter away in time. The discussion ought to be brought down to two points, that of strikes and boycotts. If the power of strikes and boycotts is taken away from us by injunctions we are gone.

Delegate Lloyd said he was suspicious when the Greeks brought him gifts. He did not propose to say bitter or harsh words, no matter how much he may have been condemned through the persecutions of others in the past. The men who framed the substitute to the resolution did not understand the philosophy of the trade union movement. They think resolutions and preambles are a necessity. They are not. He was an admirer of the trade union movement of today, because its constitution is founded in the wants, hopes and aspirations of the working people. Some delegates have told us of the wonderful and marvelous

works performed in the city of Haverhill. Why, it is one of the worst organized cities in the United States. He heard one of those delegates declare time and again that the trade unionists were the excrescence of the country and a set of fakirs, and they tell us the trade union is a failure. They happened to get their Socialistic friends elected because there was a split in the old parties. It was a fight between the parties themselves and they took out one set of bosses and put in another set. They don't mention Marlboro, where we elected the Mayor and ten out of fourteen Councilmen, and on trade union lines, too. I believe some of our delegates want to work in harmony; some do and others don't. I believe in working upon the lines of the least resistance. I hope we will have a decisive vote.

Delegate Driscoll moved the previous question. Lost.

Delegate Kent said he was not an obstructionist and wanted to hear both sides; but in this Convention we do not want any experiments; if the Socialistic movement had co-operated with us they would not be in the condition they are now. Let us organize; I believe in doing things collectively which we cannot do individually; then we can turn the world over in one fell swoop.

Delegate McNeill said that if he understood what Socialism means, it means a future system in which there shall be no employer or employe and no division of classes. It has been said that I represent the Christian Socialists; but it may be always said that I represent the Trade Union Socialism. The claim of some Socialists is that you cannot obtain the desirable economic conditions without first taking political action. He was opposed to our organization entering into politics. The Knights of St. Crispin were broken up by going into politics. He challenged the trade unionism of any man who does not vote for the principles of this Federation, as promulgated in Delegate Lennon's report.

Delegate Fitzgerald moved the previous question, which was ordered.

The chair said the proposition before the house was the amendment offered by Delegate Tobin as an addition or amendment to the report of the Committee on Laws.

Roll call on amendment demanded and on motion was ordered.

Roll call on Delegate Tobin's amendment was as follows:

For—Tobin, Bechtold, Zorn, Cowen, Dickens, Dresler, Reid, Miller, Hahn, Mahon,

Donohue, Kidd, Jones, Strauss, Schmalz, Hayes, Carey, White, Fahey, Bonbright, Cowan, Innis, Callahan, Thorn—493.

Against—Perigny, Fitzgerald, Mulholland, Slocum, Gilthorpe, Grant, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Gompers, Tracy, Dernel Whittaker, Morris, Cable, Adams, Monaghan, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Cake, Leigh, Lawlor, Cahill, Shaffer, Keefe, Conine, O'Connell, Warner, Call, Mitchell, Hunter, Lewis, Fahy, Fox, Valentine, Black, Sullivan, Kelly (John S.), Kenney, Smith, Kelly, Furuseth, Elderkin, Lennon, Bowman, Mills, White; Witzel, Donnelly (Samuel B.), Cain, Morrison, Braunschweig, Shalvoy, O'Sullivan, Driscoll, Doyle, McEwen, Curry, Bradley, Keefer, Casey, Coy, Donnelly, Flaherty, McCormick, McNeill, Barrett, Jahns, Kirby, Lossie, Blain, Plieman, Morton, Brown, Timilty, Dold, O'Neill, Sefferien, Maher, Moore, Steadman, Powell, Rombold, Scanlon, Lawyer, Fox, Inskip—1,971.

Declined to Vote—O'Rourke—72.

Absentees—Garrity, Speelman, McBride, Rife, Noonan, Dugan, Smith (J. V.), McNulty, Brush, Shamp, Bausch, Keith, Henry Dalton, Morman, Snedegar, Reynolds, Simpson, Bux, Carey (David A.)—46.

The motion to adopt the committee's report prevailed.

The discussion of this question began at 2:21 Friday afternoon, continued until 5:35 p. m., was resumed at 9:12 Saturday and continued until 12:25, when the yea and nay vote was taken. Twenty-seven delegates made speeches on the question.

Delegate Lloyd said he had been requested to say a few words to our brother delegates, and to show them in a substantial way the regard in which they are held by our delegates and the estimation that we have of the splendid movement they are representing here. Messrs. Inskip and Thorn, I want to say that we recognize in you a splendid type of the splendid organization across the water. We all admire your worth as good fellows and as good men. To be a good man means a great deal, and the delegates wish to, in a tangible way, express their appreciation. Mr. Inskip sir, I shall present to you in our behalf this walking stick. We hope you will not lean heavily upon it for many years to come, if ever, and also this finger ring, and hope and trust you will wear it many a day and that you will return to your country in the full bloom of health, or at least greatly improved, and able to give more years of valuable service to the trade-unionist movement.

To you, Mr. Thorn, we have selected a gold watch. We noticed that Mr. Inskip had a gold watch and that yours was silver, and therefore let me, in behalf of the delegates of this Convention, present to you this gold

watch, and we hope you will wear it for many years.

Delegate Inskip: If there is one thing more than another that places me at a disadvantage, it is this extension of your kindness and of which I am the recipient, and I desire now to thank you for your kindness and your courtesy. I long to see that day when the feeling which permeates the two nations will result to the advantage of the workers, and I hope the work shall progress, and I shall feel that I have at least done something towards it. And to those who may follow me, and to whom I shall leave these two mementoes of my visit to the United States, I can say that I have fond recollections of the gentlemen with whom I came in contact, and I sincerely thank the delegates for this grand mark of their esteem and good will, and if

there is any one thing which would induce me to continue in the path I have marked out for myself, it is in these tokens, which will always be valued most highly.

Delegate Thorn: I wish to thank you for this present. I shall always remember my stay in America and the friends I hope I have made—and I think I have made a great many. I know how to appreciate the work of the trade unionists, for when a boy of 12, I had to work in the mills, and I have never forgotten those days; I thought then that there was something wrong with the social system, and I still do, and will continue my work, and I hope that it will not be long until the workers of America and England will be united, and that it will extend all over the world.

Adjourned at 12:25 P. M.

## SIXTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 P. M. by President Gompers.

Delegate Kidd moved that roll call and reading of the minutes be dispensed with. Adopted.

Delegate Dold moved that the Convention telegraph the following to the Chicago Federation of Labor:

To Walter Carmody, Secretary Chicago Federation of Labor, 107 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.:

American Federation of Labor declared its opposition to granting of fifty-year franchises in any way.

Adopted.

Secretary Morrison transmitted the telegram.

In view of the fact that several delegates were instructed upon the principle involved in the Tobin amendment, and who were absent from the convention at the time of roll call attending to important matters in the interest of their organizations, and further, that the result on the question would not be changed, the following named delegates were permitted to have their names recorded in the original ye and nay vote: Perigny, Sabine, Autler, Warner, Conine, Cain, Casey, Flaherty, Sufferin and Morman against, and Dickens, Fahey and Jones for.

Delegate McNeill submitted the report of the Committee on Industrial Commission as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in Eighteenth Convention Assembled:

Your committee are of the opinion that a commission of such magnitude of opportunity as that of the Industrial Commission recently created by Congress should have been composed largely of trade unionists, selected by the unions, and that the failure to so secure the men best fitted for the work is an offense wittingly or unwittingly committed against organized labor. Nevertheless your committee believe that it behooves the American Federation of Labor to carefully consider all matters pertaining to the scope and direction of the work of the Commission, and to offer such suggestions as will best tend to bring before the people a full and just presentation of the existing conditions of the wage-workers of the country.

Organized labor has for more than half a century repeatedly called for investigation into their condition. In the initial period of our movement in this country labor's call for light was ignored; the press and pulpit were silent. Men of leisure, education and opportunity sneered at labor demands, and it was not until the wage-workers organized that their call for an investigation was heeded.

In 1865 a Commission upon the hours of labor was appointed in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. This Commission was composed of gentlemen of wealth and leisure, and but little good resulted from their work. The next year one of the Commissioners appointed was a trade unionist—a ship carpenter and joiner; his minority report was productive of good. The call for more light was continued, and the establishment of the first Bureau of Statistics of Labor was accomplished in 1869, with two officers, one a gentleman of education and large experience as a manufacturer, and the other a trade unionist. Other states have

followed, and now some eighteen states, and the United States Government, have bureaus of this character.

The Industrial Commission recently created is composed of nineteen men—five Senators, five members of the House of Representatives and nine citizens not members of Congress.

If this Commission will conduct its investigations and inquiries (as we trust it will) in a spirit of impartiality, delving to the roots of existing conditions, its report will shock the good willing people of our land.

We call upon the Commission to take no hearsay evidence from those whose interests are adverse to those of the workers. To take no office nor counting-house evidence of the conditions of mill-workers, miners, shop workers, sailors or other employees, but to see with eyes not filmed by prejudice and to hear with ears not sealed by preconceived opinion.

In the name of humanity we ask that the miserable hovel of the miner, the reeking tenements of the sweaters, victims in our great cities, be exposed to view in their dark and loathsome colors. We ask that the nature and extent of the deplorable conditions of these victims of greed be brought to public notice. That the long hours, low wages and poverty of the workers in the textile industry in our Southern States be fully inquired into. That the systematic spoliation of the sailors be fully investigated, and that special attention be given to the conditions under which women and children are employed. That the truck and script systems now in vogue in some of the states be brought to the attention of Congress. That the Commission investigate as to the statements so often repeated and affirmed, that men and women are forbidden to organize; to withhold the sale of their labor or withdraw their patronage from unfair persons, firms and corporations, and to inquire of witnesses under oath as to the black listing of union men.

We urge upon the Commission to give private hearings to such wage workers as will be victimized if they dare to testify openly. We call upon them to fully and faithfully investigate the conditions of labor in all parts of our country; that they give their opinions as to the necessity of repealing all laws that discriminate in any way against those who sell their labor, and especially those laws that have been or may be construed to interfere with the rights of the wage workers to organize, to strike, to boycott. Under the common law of Great Britain (made a part of the common law of this country), workmen or servants, as they were called, could and did receive pay for damages received in consequence of the neglect of the master. After the considerable congregation of labor in factories was accomplished, the masters, who were also magistrates, so interpreted the common law as to render it void. It then became necessary to enact laws for the protection of life and limb. We ask the commission to investigate as to how far such laws have resulted in increased care for the protection of the employee.

Your committee are conversant with the fact that the court of law must maintain their high prerogative, the power to enforce the penalties adjudged to be due for crimes committed, and to properly maintain the dignity of the court and provide for the orderly conduct of those who come within the jurisdiction of the court room, but we are also sufficiently

versed in the history of jurisprudence to know that the extension of the power of injunction beyond well established limits is fraught with great danger to the inalienable right of the citizen. Star chamber procedure in the interest of property and privilege by the annihilation of the rights of the citizen to a fair and impartial trial by a jury of his peers is anarchistic in the offensive meaning of that term, and must be checked, or the chaos and confusion consequent upon such judge-made law will react and inspire and justify the contempt of all such court procedures.

The trade union movement seeks the emancipation of Labor, not by the light of the torch, but the light of education.

Our army is the grand army of peace. Behind the march of the workers not devastated homes, not orphaned children, not a subject people, but in its path spring flowers of beauty, homes more comfortable, children happier and the people glad with the larger liberty secured for them and their fellows. Cheer the army in its movement onward to the goal of fraternity, equality and liberty.

Your committee, feeling the full force of the possibilities of the Industrial Commission, and believing that every assistance should be given to all honest intended investigation and all honest investigators, respectfully recommend:

That the incoming Executive Council shall, by correspondence and otherwise, seek to indicate to the Commission the direction of their investigation and inquiries, and that while so doing they enter their protest against any delay in the enactment of desired legislation or administrative action.

We affirm that enough is now known to warrant the granting of all legislation demanded.

The limited time at the disposal of your committee has prevented them from making a full and exhaustive treatment as the subject matter demands, and we trust that the Executive Council will supplement this report with such further suggestions as they deem wise and prudent.

We would wish to impress upon the industrial Commission the seriousness of the work they have attempted; to study not only existing conditions but to give due weight to the causes that in these, the closing years of the nineteenth century, find, on the one hand, the wealth producers of the Republic struggling in poverty and want, and on the other hand, finds wealth aggregated to such colossal proportions as endanger the equilibrium of society. The dangers that threaten our civilization come not from the hard hand of labor, but rather from a system under which men are forced to sell their labor or starve. That such a system is repugnant, too, and in direct controversy to a Republican form of government. That, in the words of Ira Steward, men who are compelled to "sell their labor or starve will sell their votes for the same reason." That when men have votes to sell, and other men have votes to buy, the franchise of the citizen is no longer a sovereign power. That when men are elected by purchased votes, then the star of the Republic is in the descendant.

Wages are the barometer of civilization; where they are highest, as an annual and sure income, there comes a larger measure of prosperity and peace. That high wages and the added leisure of the short work day will be but as an inspiration to organized labor to

move further forward until the day of labor's emancipation shall witness the fulfillment of the prophecy of the prophet and the dream of the poet; when nations shall make war no more, and each man shall labor in his chosen field of activity, and no man shall call another master.

Respectfully submitted,  
GEO. E. McNEILL, Chairman,  
C. L. SHAMP,  
CHAS. F. HAHN,  
FRANK BROWN,  
JOHN S. KELLEY,  
W. E. McEWEN,  
W. D. MAHON.

Consideration of the report was laid over until a later hour.

President Gompers then introduced Mr Clarence S. Darrow who delivered an excellent and instructive address on "The Workingman and the Courts."

Delegate Kent moved that a rising vote of thanks be tendered to Mr. Clarence S. Darrow for his magnificent and eloquent address.

Adopted unanimously.

Delegate Tobin moved that the labor papers of the country be requested to print Mr. Darrow's speech in full and that the Executive Council have it put in pamphlet form and distributed where they deemed it advisable.

Adopted unanimously.

Delegate Keefer announced the death of a relative and asked to be excused from further attendance upon the Convention.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved that he be excused and the sympathy of the Convention extended to him in his bereavement.

Adopted.

The consideration of the report of the Special Committee on Industrial Commission was resumed.

Delegate Doyle opposed the report of the committee.

On motion the report of the Committee was adopted. Ayes, 53; noes, 2.

Delegate O'Rourke asked unanimous consent to present a resolution. Objected to.

Delegate Jahns moved a suspension of the rules to permit the delegate to submit his resolution. Ruled out of order.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved to rescind the vote whereby it required unanimous consent to introduce resolutions.

President Gompers here stated that Mr. Darrow requested that he be permitted to revise his speech before it is published, as he made it without preparation. If not granted this privilege he advised that it be not printed.

On motion it was so ordered.

Secretary Morrison then read Rule 15, by request of the Chair.

Delegate Tracy asked if the rules were suspended would others be permitted to present resolutions.

On receiving an affirmative answer, Delegate Tracy moved that the motion lie on the table.

Delegate Doyle arose to a point of order: That it was not the custom of the convention to lay anything on the table.

The motion to table was adopted.

A communication from the Trades and Labor Assembly of Kansas City, Kansas, inviting the delegates to attend the meeting of the Assembly on Sunday afternoon, was read.

Delegate O'Sullivan, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following report:

On Resolution No. 53, committee recommend its reference to the Committee on Grievances. Recommendation concurred in.

On Resolution No. 56, committee reports unfavorably. Concurred in.

On Resolution No. 57, committee recommends the striking out of the first and second whereas, and the adoption of the resolution. Recommendation adopted.

On Resolution No. 70, committee report favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 80, the committee recommends the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That we protest against long hours, overtime and Sunday labor, and demand that all who work shall have one day of rest in seven; that the American Federation of Labor takes the initiative and calls on all trade union and trade unionists to agitate and co-operate with other associations in securing one day's rest in seven. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 81, the committee recommends that the word "we" in the second whereas be stricken out, so that it will read as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Executive Board of District No. 12, U. M. W. of A., have appointed," etc.

Also, strike out the third whereas, and amend the resolution so that it will read:

"RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse appeal as mailed by Brother A. D. Davis, Secretary and Treasurer, and invite all trade unionists to give it their support."

Delegate Kirby spoke in favor of the resolution as amended. He stated that while these miners were not now affiliated with A. F. of L., he thought they would come into the fold before the next convention.

The recommendations of the committee were concurred in, and the resolution, as amended, adopted.

At 5:30 the Convention adjourned until Monday morning.



## SEVENTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 a.m., by President Compers.

Roll Call.

Absentees: Garrity, Hayes, Dugan, Keith, Fahy, McCauley and Elderkin.

On motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Delegates W. O. Moore, William Steadman, George Powell, John Rombold, Hugh J. Scanlon, Charles Lawyer and Albert Fox, of the Tinplate Workers' Unions, and Delegate Blain were excused from further attendance at the Convention.

The Committee on Credentials reported recommending the seating of Wm. J. Spencer, alternate for John S. S. Kelley.

Delegate Dernel, of the Arbitration Board of Complaint against Waiters, submitted the following:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates—Your committee, appointed as an arbitration and investigation board on the matter of complaints as to the conduct of the National Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, beg leave to report as follows:

We have had all parties to the controversy, so far as possible, before us and succeeded in securing from them the following agreement:

We have had numerous complaints as to the conduct of the National Union for Waiters, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League. Many charges of dishonesty were made against the officers of the organization; fraud was alleged in so many ways and in such vital instances as to compel us to undertake an investigation. We have notified those who have appealed to the American Federation of Labor to help them save the National union from utter destruction to appear before us in this city, and have furnished the officers of the organization, who are charged with holding office illegally and with the commission of these offenses, with copies of the complaints, inviting them to be present and give their version of the matters in question. The contending parties were represented at our session; realizing, however, that the work would encroach upon time which was not at our disposal. At our suggestion a committee of three of each side met for the purpose of arriving at some agreement. The next day the following agreement for an investigation was submitted, which we approve:

We all unite in urging upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. the expediency of a thorough investigation of all transactions of our general office for the present term and all

preceding terms since Cincinnati convention of 1896, thoroughly satisfied that whatever its result it is essential to the peace and progress of our various organizations.

W. C. POMEROY, G. V. P.,  
JERE L. SULLIVAN,  
Local 20, St. Louis.  
FRANK A. EGGER,  
General Secretary.  
MELVIN G. BOLLINGER,  
Local 51, St. Louis  
F. C. LEWIS.  
W. P. PHILLIPS.

After further effort we persuaded the contending factions to agree to arbitration as well as investigation.

In view of the proposition made by the contending parties to the dispute in the Hotel and Restaurant I. U. and B. T. L. of A. we recommend that you sanction under your authority the investigation of the matters in dispute and the arbitration thereof with a view that entire unity of the craft may be re-established, and in furtherance of this purpose John F. O'Sullivan and T. L. Lewis were selected in behalf of the National organization officers, and Owen Miller and W. E. McEwen were selected by the appellants and complainants, and we selected J. C. Dernel. The five above named, or such successors, in case of vacancy, as the above parties in dispute may name, to constitute a committee to investigate, arbitrate and adjust all matters in dispute. The representatives of both parties bind themselves to abide by the result of the investigation and arbitration.

The above is fully endorsed and agreed to.

(Signed)

JERE L. SULLIVAN,  
MELVIN G. BOLLINGER,  
H. J. FLEMING, No. 14,  
H. TROWBRIDGE, No. 14,  
DANIEL COSTELLO,  
W. C. POMEROY, G. V. P.,  
W. H. PHILLIPS,  
FRANK A. EGGER,  
General Secretary.  
T. ERICSON,  
FRANK C. LEWIS.

Each party in interest had every opportunity to present their case. A mass of testimony was presented by both sides, and at one time it appeared to this committee that we would not be able to submit a satisfactory report to this Convention. To the credit of both sides, be it said, much assistance was given our Committee by all parties before us, and through their interest in the cause of labor and their desire to sink personal feelings for the success of their craft, we were able to reach what we believe to be an amicable adjustment of the difficulty. The decision arrived at by your board, which is binding upon all parties to the controversy, is as follows:

1. All charges of the complainants are herewith withdrawn.

2. All unions as contestants to bear the same relation occupied by them prior to the Detroit Convention.

3. A convention shall be called under the auspices of this board, to be held on Monday, the sixth day of March, 1899, at 10 o'clock, a.m., in the city of Chicago, Ill. The General Executive Board, and contestants, to furnish this board with the addresses of their respective locals, and the call for the convention to be sent out by this board.

4. No proxies shall be allowed in the convention.

5. Only such unions, both regular and contestants, as were in existence prior to December 12, 1898, shall be entitled to representation.

6. A representative of the contestants, west of the Mississippi river, shall be a member of the General Executive Board.

7. A sub-committee of three, consisting of the chairman, John C. Dernel, John F. O'Sullivan and William E. McEwen, shall serve as the Credential Committee, and shall perform any other duties necessary for the carrying out of this agreement.

8. The Chicago Waiters League shall amalgamate with local Union, No. 40, of the H. and R. E. I. A. and B. I. L. A. immediately.

9. The General Executive Board shall immediately revoke the charter of what is known at present as "Local No. 20" of St. Louis, and shall reissue immediately a charter to what was formerly Local No. 20. The members of said present "Local 20" shall at once be transferred to said former Local No. 20.

10. All contesting locals reinstated to membership paying dues beginning January 1, 1899, and the assessments levied as per Article VI, Section 4, of the Constitution.

11. This Board of Arbitration reserves the right to pass upon any questions that may arise affecting the terms of this decision.

12. This Board of Arbitration to submit its report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

This Board insists that this decision must be accepted in good faith, and directs that all parties to the controversy shall refrain from personalities or criticisms of any nature, either written or verbal, to the end that harmony, so essential to the success of the trade union movement, may obtain, and that the hotel and restaurant employees of the country may contribute more valuable service to the movement for the uplifting of the crafts.

Respectfully submitted,  
JOHN C. DERNELL, Chairman,  
W. E. McEWEN,  
JOHN F. O'SULLIVAN,  
OWEN MILLER,  
T. L. LEWIS, Secretary.

It was moved by Delegate Lennon that the report of the committee be received and the recommendations of the Arbitration Committee concurred in. Adopted.

Delegate Morris, for the Committee on Treasurer's Report, submitted the following:

To the Officers and Members of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Treasurer's Report, beg leave to report that we have investigated the

report of Treasurer John B. Lennon, and fully approve of the suggestions made therein.

Respectfully submitted,  
SAML. B. DONNELLY, Chairman.

MAX MORRIS, Secretary.  
CHAS. F. HAHN.  
JOHN M. HUNTER.  
GEO. F. KENNEY.  
JOHN R. SPEELMAN,  
J. E. FITZGERALD.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate O'Sullivan submitted the following report for the Committee on Resolutions:

On Resolution No. 82 your committee reports the following as a substitute, and recommends its adoption:

RESOLVED, That this Convention, emphatically protests against the Government granting contracts for the making of army, navy, or Indian clothing to firms or individuals manufacturing under the contract or sweating system, and that this stipulation be inserted in all Government contracts awarded for Government clothing.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 83, we recommend striking out words "agreed upon" in the fifth line of the first whereas, and substituting the word "accepted;" strike out the words "this state" in the second line of the second whereas, and insert the word "Illinois;" strike out the words "the delegates of" in the second line of the first resolve; strike out all but the words "resolve" and "that" in the first line of the second resolve, and substitute as amended for resolutions Nos. 47 and 84.

Delegate Hunter said that when the settlement was made in Pennsylvania the Illinois miners were left out in the cold. The miners were getting paid for only about 29 per cent of their product. He declared the miners had endeavored to effect a peaceable adjustment of the affair, but could come to no agreement with the Chicago-Virden Coal Company. The matter was placed before the State Arbitration Board and the miners were awarded the scale rate of 40 cents. The Chicago-Virden Company declared they would not pay it; before they would do so they would fight it out at the point of the musket. We took it up, and, thank God, we won the victory. Had not Governor Tanner come to our rescue we would have been beaten. When the company's representative was asked what they were going to do with the negroes after Governor Tanner's declaration that they must go, he replied, "We're going to keep them here until we break up your organization," I replied, "that when

you do that you will have the hardest time of your life." The same wisdom exhibited in this body, if carried into the Legislatures of the States, and into Congress, would be the solution of the Labor problem, and we should see to it that some of our men were elected to those bodies, and then we would not have to send committees there to solicit and demand legislation in our behalf.

Delegate Mitchell said if Governor Tanner had not sent troops to Virden the miners would have lost their strike. He believed that when a State executive assists workingmen in their troubles he should be recognized by organized labor. The action of Governor Tanner should be endorsed. The Governor had been asked by the coal company to send troops there under the pretense of protecting property, but in this instance the troops assisted the miners. He favored the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Cowen appreciated what had been done in the interest of labor in Illinois and favored the report of the Committee.

On motion the report was adopted.

On Resolution No. 47 the committee reports that Resolution No. 84 covered the same ground and recommended no action be taken.

Report concurred in.

On Resolution No. 86 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 91 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 92 the committee reports favorably, and recommend its substitution for Nos. 36 and 37. Concurred in.

Resolution No. 87 was referred back to the committee.

On Resolution No. 96 the committee reports favorably.

Delegate Furuseth thought the resolution as it stood was a little dangerous. The proposition now before Congress needed attention.

Delegate Donnelly said his object in offering the resolution was to extend a helping hand to the letter carriers.

On motion the resolution was recommitted. The Committee later offered the following substitute, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, It is reported that government officials propose to have the postal service eight hour law amended; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declares in favor of the extension of said law to the Postal Clerks, but is opposed to any amendment or change seeking to have letter carriers or others in the postal service required to work more than eight hours in any calendar day.

Resolution No. 100 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

Resolution No. 102 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

Resolution No. 103 the committee reports unfavorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 109 the committee recommends the striking out of the first and second whereases, and as thus amended reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 117, the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 113 the committee recommends it be referred to the Committee on Laws.

Delegate Lennon moved to non-concur in the report of the committee and adopt the resolution. Carried.

Delegate McCormick, for the Committee on Laws, submitted the following:

On Resolution No. 2, your committee recommends the following substitute:

WHEREAS, The placing of a boycott upon any product, the manufacture of which is participated in by two or more crafts, may, and often does, work an injury to union workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, shall indorse no boycott where the products of several organized unions will be affected thereby, until every possible effort has been made to secure a settlement, and all organizations to be affected shall have been given a hearing and an opportunity to assist in securing a settlement of the existing grievance.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 3, your committee reports favorably.

Delegate Lennon favored striking out the sections creating a strike fund. Many unions failed to pay their part, and at the next Convention were excused. It seemed impossible for some organizations to comply with the law as it now stands.

Delegate Lloyd was opposed to striking out unless something better was offered to take its place.

Delegate Mahon said the present law was a dead letter and a bad measure as it now stood because it could not be enforced generally.

On motion the report was adopted.

Further consideration of the report was deferred.

Delegate Owen Miller was called to the Chair.

Delegate Lewis, for the Committee on the Report of the Executive Council, submitted the following:

3. In reference to the Paper Hangers' application for a charter, the following is the report of the Executive Council:

For the past few years the National Paper Hangers' Protective and Beneficial Association of America has made overtures, and at last applied for a charter from the American Federation of Labor. The Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, however, claims jurisdiction, and protests against the issuance of the charter. Under the circumstances the Executive Council had no alternative but to concede the claim. However, the officers of the Paper Hangers' National Union asked that the matter be considered by the convention, claiming that if the decision be to recognize the Brotherhood of Paper Hangers it should be binding upon all.

The application for a charter by Paper Hangers was further considered by the Executive Council at their session in Kansas City. Both sides were heard, and the Council, after careful consideration, decided that application for charter be refused and that the Brotherhood of Painters be urged to grant the Paper Hangers of the country the fullest possible jurisdiction of their craft, but as members of the Brotherhood, to the end that the Paper Hangers can secure the best possible conditions for members of their craft through the country.

The Committee concurs in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to grant a charter to Paper Hangers, and in the interest of harmony, would further recommend that the local unions of Paper Hangers now in existence be granted charters by the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators without the usual fee.

Adopted.

4. The committee approves the action of the Executive Council in securing more commodious quarters for the general offices of the A. F. of L.

Adopted.

5. The committee endorses the action of the Executive Council in appropriating one hundred dollars toward defraying the expense of the Legislative Committee of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and approve of the recommendation of the Executive Council to appropriate one hundred dollars per annum for this purpose.

Adopted.

6. The committee endorse and earnestly congratulate the Executive Council for the good work performed in preventing a division of the American Federation of Labor on sectional lines, as proposed in the movement of organizing the Western Labor Union.

Adopted.

7. The following is approved and we recommend that it be referred to the Committee on Laws:

"In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candi-

date receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped."

On motion the recommendation of the committee to refer was non-concurred in.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

8. We approve of the recommendation of the Executive Council to increase the number of the Executive Council from seven to nine members and refer the following to the Committee on Laws:

With the view of giving larger representation to the different organizations in the Executive Council, we recommend that the number constituting the council be increased from seven to nine members.

On motion the recommendation of the committee to refer was non-concurred in.

On motion the report of the committee increasing the number of the Executive Council from seven to nine was adopted.

9. The question of granting a charter to the Boxmakers and Sawyers Union was taken up for consideration, and after hearing representatives of the Box Makers and Wood Workers Unions, the following was adopted:

RESOLVED, That we recommend that if the Box Makers' Union desires affiliation with the A. F. of L. that they apply for membership with the Amalgamated Wood Workers International Association, who will grant to the Box Makers' Union, now organized, charters without the payment of fees, and representation on the Executive Council of Wood Workers.

Adopted.

10. The following rule of the Executive Council is approved and we recommend that it be referred to Committee on Laws to embody it in the Constitution:

"Only such *bona fide* wage workers who are not members of or eligible to membership in any other existing trade unions under the jurisdiction of the central body, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions to local central bodies."

Delegate J. W. White asked if the proposed law could possibly be construed as relating to a man being a member of two trade unions.

Such was not the understanding of the committee.

Delegate Lennon moved to non-concur in the report of the committee and the ruling of Executive Council be adopted.

Delegate Kent thought it should go to the Committee on Laws.

President Gompers thought it should apply to local representatives in central bodies, as it does in the A. F. of L. It was not applied to local or central labor unions.

Delegate Driscoll would like to have the matter go a little further. He desired to prohibit a man from being a delegate from a trade union if a member of a Federal labor union.

Delegate Jahns asked if it debarred a man of a trade whose union was not organized in a city.

Secretary Morrison explained the application of the law at present.

Delegate Lewis stated the committee had not changed the ruling a single word.

The report as amended was adopted.

11. The controversy between the Waiters' Alliance and subordinate unions having been referred to a special committee, we have taken no action in the matter, but approve of the earnest effort of the Executive Council in trying to bring the conflicting interests together.

Adopted.

12. We concur in the action of the Executive Council in appropriating money to place organizers in the field, and we urgently request that this Convention make necessary provision to further the work of organizing throughout the whole country, and especially in the South and West.

Adopted.

13. The committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to use its influence to have enacted such laws as will give to the people of the District of Columbia the right of franchise and place them on an equality with other citizens of the United States.

Adopted.

14. The following recommendations of the Executive Council the committee concurs in: Inasmuch as the continuous and overwhelming flood of boycott circulars sent to local unions indiscriminately without authority of the A. F. of L., leads to confusion and ineffectiveness in pushing unfair firms to settlement on union terms, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we disapprove of any local, national or international union sending out any circular calling for a boycott unless the same is first indorsed by the A. F. of L., and in case a boycott circular is sent out without such indorsement, the Executive Council will feel justified in refusing to sustain the boycott.

Finding that the name and prestige of our organization have been exploited to base purposes by unscrupulous persons, we adopted the following resolution, which we recommend to your consideration and approval.

RESOLVED, That we hereby notify all business men, trade unionists, and the public generally, that no advertising agent or solicitor is authorized in any manner or under any pretense to solicit advertisements or subscriptions of money in the name or in behalf of the American Federation of Labor for any so-called souvenirs, labor directories or hand books. We further request the earnest co-operation of all affiliated unions in enforcing this resolution.

Adopted.

This committee recommends that Resolution No. 71, page 71, Second Day's Proceedings, be referred to the Grievance Committee.

Adopted.

There are several questions of such minor importance in the report of the Executive Council that the committee did not consider it necessary to make special reference thereto.

We respectfully endorse the action of the Executive Council on all matters that it has taken under consideration in its report submitted to us.

WM. J. GILTHORPE, Chairman,  
CHAS. L. CAKE,  
WM. J. O'BRIEN,  
DAN'L J. KEEFE,  
J. W. WHITE,  
C. H. ADAMS,  
T. L. LEWIS, Secretary.

On motion the report as amended was adopted.

The Committee on Boycotts and Labels submitted the following report:

On Resolution No. 121 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 122 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 128 the committee recommends it be referred to incoming Executive Council. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 127 the committee reports favorably and recommend it be referred to incoming Executive Council. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 135 the committee recommends it be referred to incoming Executive Council. Adopted.

On Resolution No. 88 the committee recommends it be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Delegate M. Donnelly did not know the A. F. of L. published a fair list. He was opposed to the resolution.

Delegate Kidd was opposed to the resolution because there was scarcely a firm that was friendly to organized labor that would be put on the fair list. If adopted it would compel his craft to take every firm from the fair list.

Delegate Jahns declared we stand as opposed to using unfair goods. If we make this list at all, we should demand that the product should be handled by union men throughout.

Delegate Bowman said there were men in his business so closely allied to the proprietor they could not take them into the organization, and could not take them out on a strike.

Delegate Warner desired to make a motion that the Executive Council be authorized to make a strictly union list; that the word "fair" be stricken out of the resolution and the words "strictly union" inserted in lieu thereof.

Delegate Cahill thought that by creating such a list it would be fair to all crafts.

Delegate Carey was opposed to the amendment if it applied to material before manufactured.

Delegate Lennon moved a substitute that the resolutions be referred to the next Convention, and the Secretary instructed to print them in the programme.

Delegate Monahan opposed the substitute and desired immediate action.

Delegate Braunschweig opposed the resolution because it would be unfair to organizations represented in the A. F. of L.

Delegate Dernel said the matter was of more importance than the delegates imagined. He also asked if the delegates considered the amount of work (and abuse) it would put on the officers of the A. F. of L. It was unfair in this way. The Cigarmakers have no jurisdiction over other trades.

Delegate O'Sullivan favored the substitute. It required time to be considered by the trades represented. The matter should be placed upon the programme next year and the Convention would then be prepared to discuss it.

Delegate McCoy favored the report of the Committee and was opposed to any amendment or reference.

On motion the rules were suspended and time for adjournment extended to 1 o'clock.

Delegate J. W. White was opposed to referring the resolution if good could come of it now.

Delegate Autler thought it was impracticable at the present time, and was opposed to the resolution and favored postponement.

Delegate Driscoll was opposed to postponement. There were craftsmen employed in various establishments not eligible to membership in any union.

Delegate Miller said the subject was one of vast importance, one we did not understand, and favored laying it over.

Delegate McCormick advocated postponement of consideration until the next convention.

On motion the previous question was ordered.

The substitute was agreed to.

Delegate Donnelly moved the report of the Grievance Committee be made special order at 2 o'clock. Adopted.

Delegate Kidd, as a special committee to assist the Firemen to organize an International Union, reported that he had succeeded, and had also organized a National Union of Teamsters.

Delegate Doyle asked if the adoption of the report would issue a charter to the Firemen.

The chair stated if there were a sufficient number of locals, and the requirements of the A. F. of L. were complied with, a charter would be issued.

Delegate Doyle protested against the issuance of a charter.

Delegate Morrison asked Delegate Doyle if his organization claimed jurisdiction over the Firemen.

Delegate Doyle said it did not, but that the two organizations were so closely allied they should have an understanding between them as to an alliance, offensive and defensive.

Delegate Plieman said the Stationary Firemen had not refused to consult with the Engineers. They deemed it necessary to have an understanding with them, but desired to have a charter. There was no grievance at the present time.

Delegate Morman said the Firemen had met a conference from the Engineers and referred the proposition to the locals. If locals decided to affiliate they would meet them at their national Convention. He hoped the protest would be unheeded.

Delegate Cable stated the Firemen and Engineers were two trades, and could not see why the protest was made.

Delegate Kent said the report of the committee should be received and the matter of granting a charter be referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Delegate Monaghan thought the matter should be referred to the two organizations. He moved that the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council, and they be required to enter into correspondence with them in an endeavor to amalgamate the two bodies.

Delegate Mahon claimed the A. F. of L. had recognized the firemen and the Engineers had not protested. Now that they were getting strong the Engineers come forward with a protest.

Delegate J. W. White thought this was not a question to be referred, and that the question should be settled by the Convention.

Delegate Bowman opposed the reference to the Executive Council. It should be settled now.

Delegate Miller thought it would be an outrage to postpone action. They certainly had a right to organize and be granted a charter without regard to the engineers.

Delegate Doyle claimed that friction existed between the Firemen now. The Engineers

had assisted the Firemen to organize. In many small towns two unions could not be maintained, but one could.

Delegate McCormick said that if no protests were made to seating the Firemen delegates in the Convention, he was in favor of granting them a charter.

Delegate Curry favored granting them a charter immediately.

The motion to refer was lost.

The report of the committee was received and adopted.

The Kansas City World, through the local Arrangements Committee, requested the Convention to permit it to be photographed. No objection.

Delegate Schmalz and Bonbright were excused from further attendance.

Delegate Kirby, for the Utah Federation of Labor, tendered the thanks of that body for the \$500 donated in the eight-hour cause. The action of the A. F. of L. had cemented labor in that section. In behalf of Utah and the whole West, he thanked the A. F. of L.

The Committee on Organization reported, commending the work of Delegate Kidd, and recommending a clause in the constitution of the Teamsters National Union fixing the eligibility of team owners to those owning five teams, the owner to drive one of the teams.

Referred to the incoming Executive Council.

Adjourned at 1 p. m.

## SEVENTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 p.m. by President Gompers.

On motion the roll call was dispensed with.

On motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

On motion the Convention went into executive session.

Delegate Black submitted the following report of the Grievance Committee:

To the Officers and Members of the A. F. of L.:

Your committee, in considering Resolution No. 58, presented by the representative of the Machinists Union, cannot but express regret that it should have been injected into the proceedings at this stage of its history. We fully realize that the question is one of exceeding delicacy and could only have been satisfactorily adjusted by representatives of the I. T. U. and I. A. M. without the intervention of a third party. In the present instance it comes before us without the consent of one of the parties at interest, and neither party expresses a willingness to accept the decision of this Convention as final. While it has always been the policy of the A. F. of L. to discountenance any infringement of the legitimate jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, we deem it to be part of the work of the A. F. of L. to determine such details of jurisdiction as these submitted, unless it is constituted arbitrator of the disputed point by consent and at the wish of both parties.

It has also been pointed out to your committee that the resolution of the Syracuse convention of the I. T. U. as quoted in Resolution No. 58, will not become a part of the policy of the I. T. U., until the result of

the referendum vote of that organization, now being taken, is known.

We would, therefore, recommend the adoption of the following resolution as a substitute for Resolution No. 58:

That it is the sense of this convention that while the result of the vote on the proposed constitutional amendment now before the membership of the I. T. U., remains uncertain, it would be unwise and premature for the A. F. of L. to render a decision as the one suggested by Resolution No. 58.

And further, that while the policy of the A. F. of L. has always been to uphold an affiliated organization in the rightful exercise of its trade jurisdiction, we strongly recommend the I. T. U. and the I. A. M. to make still another effort to settle the question when the result of the vote above mentioned is ascertained, either by agreeing to arbitration by an impartial tribunal of trade unionists, or such other means as may present themselves.

By the adoption of this resolution and its acceptance by both parties, we are strongly of the opinion that the best interests of trade unionism will be conserved and dangerous and un-unionlike friction between two important members of the labor family averted. And the committee would further suggest to the bodies interested, as a possible solution of the difficulty, that the I. T. U. ask an expression of its membership upon the proposition of inviting the Machinists employed in printing offices to become affiliated with the Allied Printing Trades Councils.

Delegate O'Connell moved to non-concur in the committee's report. Lost.

On motion the substitute offered by the committee was adopted.



Delegates Reid, Warner and Woodbury desired to be recorded as voting no.

Resolution No. 98.—We recommend that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call the attention of the Trades Council of Birmingham, Ala., to Section 1, Article XII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and instruct it to refuse representation to the National League of Musicians in accordance with said section, subject to the penalty prescribed therein.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 99.—We would recommend that the controversy between T. and L. A., of Denver, Col., and No. 20 A. F. of M. be referred to the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor for immediate action. This in order that T. and L. A. of Denver may be able to answer the accusation made.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 106.—Recommend that the Secretary of the A. F. of L. notify F. L. U. No. 7014 that certain of their members are charged with "scabbing" on No 51, N. A. T. S. E., and instruct said F. L. U. to investigate same, and on proof of guilt to expel them. Failure to follow these instructions to be followed for forfeiture of charter.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 115.—Recommend the striking out of the first "whereas" and adoption of the remainder of the resolution.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor recognizes the American Federation of Musicians as the only *bona fide* union of musicians; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That local bodies of the building Trades Council of the city of Chicago, which are affiliated with or chartered under the American Federation of Labor, be requested to use their utmost endeavors to have the employment of non-union musicians by the Building Trades Council of Chicago reconsidered and annulled, and that they demand the employment of musicians belonging to Local No. 10 of the American Federation of Musicians, said union being the only local of Union Musicians in the city of Chicago recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hahn desired to withdraw the resolution. So ordered.

Resolution No. 90 recommend that it be referred to the Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 97.—Recommend that, inasmuch as the Steamfitters Protective Association is not an affiliated body with the A. F. of L., your Executive Council has no jurisdiction in the controversy, but would suggest that if the S. F. P. A. apply for affiliation with the A. F. of L., the Executive Council will endeavor to effect a settlement between that organization and the Automatic Sprinklers' Union, preferably by recommending that the S. F. P. A. grant them a special charter under their jurisdiction.

We would strongly advise the officers of the A. F. of L. that in granting charters to lo-

cal unions in the future, they carefully determine whether applicants might be properly classed as a sub-division of some other organized trade, in which case they should first be advised to affiliate with the national organization of that trade, failing to do which a charter under the A. F. of L., should be denied.

Recommended to the committee.

Resolution No. 131, withdrawn by Delegate J. W. White.

Resolution No. 53.—From the experience of all organized crafts it has been demonstrated that the policy of opposing the introduction of labor saving machinery is both futile and unwise, and we are strongly of the opinion that the International Union of Coopers will conserve the best interests of its members by directing its policy so that the journeymen coopers will retain control of such labor-saving machinery. We, however, recognize and acknowledge the right of the organized coopers to determine what policy is best for their own interests, and would, therefore, recommend that Resolution No. 53 be not adopted.

Agreed to.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Chairman,  
JOHN SLOCUM,  
GEO. H. WARNER,  
C. L. BOWMAN,  
LUKE GRANT,  
JOHN FAHY,  
D. BLACK, Secretary.

On motion the Convention arose from executive session.

Delegate Cake moved to suspend the rules and remain in session until 7:30.

Agreed to.

The following communications were read to the Convention:

Kansas City, Mo., Dec. 18, 1898.  
H. Howe, Shoe Manufacturer, Marlboro, Mass.:

American Federation of Labor representative directed to meet you and endeavor to arrive at adjustment of strike.

Please wire, my expense, when representative can meet you.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

Marlboro, Mass., Dec. 19, 1898.  
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Kansas City, Mo.:

Will meet representative United States Hotel, Boston, Saturday, December 24, 2 p.m.  
S. H. HOWE.

Delegate Miller moved that when this Eighteenth Annual Convention adjourn *sine die* it be at 7:30 p.m., Tuesday.

Delegate Cake moved to substitute 5 for 7:30.

Delegate Woodbury opposed the motion because of the weighty matters pending which should receive the deliberate attention of the Convention.

Delegate Lloyd thought that if we cut off debate we could adjourn at 5 o'clock.

Delegate Dold opposed the motion. His organization had business before the Convention, and thought it should remain in session until all business was completed.

The vote was taken on 7:30. Lost.

The proposition to adjourn *sine die* at 5 o'clock Tuesday was lost. Ayes 29; noes, 40.

Delegate Black submitted the following report for the Committee on the Eight Hour Day:

To the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Your special committee, appointed to consider all references to the eight-hour work day, conceived it to be the desire of this Convention that they should endeavor to point some way whereby the movement in this direction by the wage workers of America could be accelerated, and not that they should simply make an addition to eight hour literature or give reasons why an eight hour work day has become an essential reform. Every member of organized labor, in theory at least, is a believer in a reduction of the hours of labor. We say in theory, for we regret to note that in actual practice, when opportunity offers, many of them are not averse to working more than ten hours, and we take this opportunity to heartily commend a recent suggestion of the Executive Council, that every trade unionist do what he can to discourage the working of over-time.

Selfishness and the fear of recurring depressions, with their suffering and poverty, combine to make men eager to work to the limit of endurance when opportunity affords; it is to show them the folly and the mistaken reasoning which prompts their action that it is the task of the American Federation of Labor and every organized body of workmen in this country. It is a matter of education, of appeals to their understanding, and, we regret to say, that we can offer no better means to this end than what has been suggested time and again by similar committees to this body—the distribution of literature, public speaking, agitation in the labor press and discussion of the subject in the meeting room. It would be profitable, indeed, if every local body throughout your jurisdiction would set apart a portion of its time for the discussion of "Hours of Labor," the reduction of which should be one of the first and is the most important reform to which workmen should give their attention.

We are pleased to note in the President's report that such gratifying progress has been made in securing an eight-hour work-day for all employes on Government work. We can not express too strongly the necessity of our representatives at Washington pushing this legislation till it shall have been enacted into a law. Apart from the benefit that will accrue to the workmen immediately affected by its provisions, it furnishes an example and gives a demonstration of its success to other workmen and employers, and will constitute one of the most powerful influences for the extension of the principle.

We are of the opinion that the merits of the amendment to the Federal Constitution offered by Congressman Lovering of Massachusetts, empowering Congress to regulate hours of labor, while, apparently, in line with the ex-

pressed desire of the A. F. of L. at its convention of last year, are not sufficiently developed to merit your endorsement at this time. We do not desire to impugn the motives of those who support this measure in Congress, but we are alive to the fact that such a power given to Congress could be used to increase, as well as decrease, the hours of labor, and our experience in securing eight-hour legislation does not justify us in believing that Congress would lend a more attentive ear to more general legislation along this line. We would only recommend our representatives to keep a wakeful eye upon this legislation with a view to definite action by a future convention.

We share the gratification expressed by the President on the victory scored by the workmen of Utah, whose eight-hour law has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, and commend the action of the Executive Council in donating \$500 to assist in bearing the expense entailed in the defense of this law, the success of which is of general import.

We endorse resolution No. 96 by Delegate S. B. Donnelly, as amended by the Convention, and are strongly of the opinion that every infringement upon the eight-hour limitation, whether in the postoffice or other government departments, should meet with our unqualified opposition. If "extraordinary emergency" does make it necessary in some departments that the employes work more than eight hours per day, we emphasize the opinion already expressed by this Convention that over-time should be paid for at the rate of time and one-half.

We have heard with pleasure that the Granite Cutters' National Union has adopted an amendment to its constitution committing its members to the full introduction of the eight hour day in their trade on May 1, 1900, and recommend the endorsement of resolution No. 91, by Delegate Duncan. We believe that no better impetus can be given the movement than by yielding our most substantial support to any affiliated organization whose members are ready to make a stand for the vindication of the principle of the shorter work-day. One success of this character is, in our opinion of greater value to the movement as an educator and molder of thought than months of effort along other educational lines. Of so much importance do we consider it to the general movement that we would recommend that the incoming Executive Council be instructed in their report to the Nineteenth Convention of the A. F. of L., to offer suggestions whereby the most effective moral and material support of affiliated organizations can be accorded the G. C. N. U. in 1900.

Respectfully submitted,  
DAVID BLACK, Chairman,  
WM. J. O'BRIEN,  
J. W. WHITE,  
J. F. DONOHUE,  
EDWARD B. SABINE,  
GEO. F. KENNEY,  
JOS. J. CAHILL, Secretary.

On motion the report was adopted.

Delegate Inskip submitted the report, for the Fraternal Delegates, on resolution No. 112, as follows:

My colleague and self have considered the resolution relegated to us, and we desire to report as follows:

That in view of there being an International socialistic, political and trade union congress already decided upon for the year 1900, and the fact that the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Congress have decided not to take part or give countenance to the same, we feel that we are unable to recommend the holding of a *bona fide* International Trade Union Congress in 1900.

WILLIAM THORN,  
W. INSKIP.

Adopted.

Delegate McCormick, for the Committee on Laws, submitted the following report:

On resolution No. 79 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 13 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 12 the committee reports adversely. Adopted.

The committee recommends that the Constitution be amended by striking out the word "Trade" in the last line of Section 1, Art. 4, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "Labor," so that the last sentence of the section will read as follows:

"Only *bona fide* wage-workers who are not members of, or eligible to, membership in other trade unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor unions." Adopted.

On resolution No. 59 the committee reports adversely.

Delegate Cowen said a large number of locals were not represented as they should be—were taxed but not represented. There were several bodies of organized workers who had as large a membership as some of the National unions, and only had one vote in the Convention. He thought they were entitled to more.

Delegate O'Sullivan said the Boston Central Labor Union did not know the numerical strength of the unions affiliated, and they didn't want to know. He was opposed to the resolution.

Delegate Valentine said the committee reported adversely to prevent double representation.

Delegate Gilthorpe argued that the local unions should have representation according to taxation.

Delegate Lennon said the proposition is not in accord with the constitution. The object is to secure double representation.

Delegate Duncan thought the argument in favor of the proposition was not good.

Delegate Driscoll thought one vote was sufficient for central bodies. Adopted.

On resolution No. 23 the committee reports adversely. Adopted.

On the amendment to add a new section, proposed by Delegate Lennon, the committee report adversely. Adopted.

On the amendment by Delegate Lennon, requiring submission of full statement of grievances before strike is ordered, etc., report favorably.

Delegate Furuseth asked how it would apply to the Columbia Fishermen's Union. The fish don't wait; they have to be caught at the time. The proprietors often make cuts in wages without a moment's notice, and the men are a thousand miles away.

Delegate O'Connell was convinced some rule should be laid down holding unions receiving assistance accountable to somebody. Under the present system they are responsible to nobody. He was in favor of the amendment.

Delegate Gowen said times arose when it was necessary to call the men out instantly, and it would be hardship to keep them without money.

Delegate Mahon said the amendment was to protect the A. F. of L. from ill-advised strikes. He favored the amendment.

Delegate Kirby favored the amendment. The people of his section, if they had just cause, would strike without asking anybody.

Delegate Curry favored the amendment, as he believed a craft understood its business better than anybody else. Adopted.

On resolution No. 54 the committee reports adversely. Adopted.

On resolution No. 29 the committee report favorably, and amended by striking out the word "shall" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "may," so that it will read: "Section 1—All organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. may become applicants," etc.

Delegate Kidd believed the adoption and incorporation of this section in the laws would be a dead letter, as it could not be enforced.

Delegate Cable opposed the amendment on the ground that he thought it violated the autonomy of the unions.

Delegate Jahns thought it would be a hard matter to convince the membership that it was a good measure, and was opposed to the amendment.

Delegate Woodbury said if the change would work to the best interests of the unions he would support it. He was a believer

in high dues and thought a large fund should always be on hand. No National organization had yet reached that point, and it would be hard to collect such a fund by the A. F. of L. We have to meet conditions as we find them, and the present was inopportune. The first thing to do was to educate the local unions up to that standard.

Delegate Lennon said the proposition did not compel any of the International unions to come into the fund, but was intended to apply to local unions. It was not intended to

destroy the autonomy of any union. He was satisfied it would be beneficial to the small unions. There was difficulty in forming national unions because it meant increased dues. Adopted.

Delegate Donnelly requested to be excused. Request granted.

On motion the rules were suspended and the hour of 8 A. M. set as time for convening.

At 7 P. M. the convention adjourned.

## EIGHTH DAY—Morning Session.

Convention called to order by President Compers at 8 A. M.

Roll call.

Absentees: Garrity, Mulholland, McGuire, Kent, Monaghan, Autler, O'Brien, O'Connell, Warner, Fahy, Black, Hahn, Sullivan, McBride, Kenney, Kelly, Smith, White, Kidd, Shalvoy, Jones, O'Sullivan, Strauss, Hayes, Rife, Bradley, Keefer, Noonan, Donnelly, Dugan, Fahey, Smith, Barrett, McNulty, Blain, Cowan, Brush, Shamp, Bausch, Plieman, Morton, Brown, Henry, Dalton, Timilty, Morman, Snedegar, Reynolds, Sefferien, Maher, Innis, Simpson, Callahan and Bux.

Delegate Dold arose to a question of personal privilege and said he desired to have the application of the Piano Makers for a National Union acted on before he left Kansas City, and was so instructed by his organization.

It was moved that a committee of three be appointed to take into consideration the forming of a National organization of Piano Makers and report to the Convention. Adopted.

The President appointed as this committee, Delegates Kidd, Dold and McGuire.

Delegate Grant stated that he understood the Steamfitters had applied for a charter, and were refused.

Delegate Lennon, for the Executive Council, stated that parties in interest had been heard, and it was the sense of the Council that the charter should not be issued, because one of our organizations, the Plumbers, Gasfitters, etc., claimed jurisdiction over the Steamfitters.

Delegate Dold moved that Mr. Mangan be granted the privilege of the floor for fifteen

minutes to place before the Convention the Steamfitters' side of the case.

Delegate Woodbury said he believed the gentleman should be heard.

Delegate O'Neil protested against granting him the privilege of the floor or granting the union a charter.

The previous question was ordered. Motion adopted.

Mr. Mangan said he was not here representing the Chicago people, but was the representative of the Steamfitters of the United States. The organization was not composed of seceders. The organization was formed in October, 1888. He described the Steamfitter's calling and how it was related to plumbing. The plumbing business had been completely revolutionized in the past ten years. Lead pipe had been put aside for iron pipe, and the revolution was still going on. Steam heating was once a luxury, but is now a necessity. We have local unions in Toledo. All the helpers receive \$1.60 per day of nine hours. The Plumbers forced the Steamfitters out of the central body. Why did they do it? It seemed to him it was a prearranged plan in the interest of the bosses. He read from the Plumbers' proceedings, and quoted that the Plumbers wanted the Steamfitters "so we could control them." They made a proposition to amalgamate the association which, he declared, would be unfair to the Steamfitters. He cited instances where his people, when on strike, had been badly treated by the Plumbers. They were affiliated with the Chicago Federal Labor Union, and he challenged the Plumbers to show membership therein, or in any other city of importance where the Steamfitters were organized. The constitu-

tion for the Steamfitters was written by themselves. He cited the Stonecutters and Marblecutters, the Carpenters and Cabinetmakers, the Harnessmakers and Shoemakers to show the affinity existing in other trades. He asked the meaning of autonomy as guaranteed by the A. F. of L. Said he thought he had shown that his trade was recognized as a separate and distinct one, and was entitled to a charter. The Steamfitters forced the Sprinklers off a building in one city because they received less money than they did. He had been asked if they would take in the Sprinklers, and had replied that their doors were open to all. They would open their doors to the Sprinklers, although they were getting less compensation.

Delegate Furuseth asked, Where there is no organization, is there a distinction between the two trades?

Mr. Mangan replied in the affirmative.

Delegate O'Neil said the Sprinklers had been in business ten years. Their wages were then and are today greater than the Steamfitters. The membership travel a great deal. The wages were \$3 a day of eight hours. Our people were hard to organize because they were scattered all over the country. The Steamfitters attempted to capture our organization and have carried on a system of persecution. They visited the bosses in Chicago while we were on a strike, and said they would do these men's work if they would show them how. They were guarded by policemen. The Steamfitters have taken our places in many instances while we were on strike.

Delegate Spencer declared the Steamfitters were a seceding organization from the Plumbers. He denied that their membership was 2,000 strong. If they were a legitimate body since 1888, how was it that they were not affiliated long ago, instead of making application at this late day? They did not seek affiliation until they got into trouble with the Plumbers. We work for the same firms. The Plumbers often do the work of the Steamfitters. Why should they not be in the same organization? Why should we not protest against admitting the Steamfitters when we are a dual organization? All we ask is to leave the matter in the hands of the Executive Council. We will divide the offices with them and let their four members of the Executive Board pass upon and settle their differences. Let the Executive Council draft a basis of settlement for amalgamation and we will abide by it. He was satisfied with the recommendation of the Executive Council.

Delegate McGuire said there were members of the council who did not believe the Steamfitters should be denied a charter. He thought the matter a fit subject for settlement by a special committee on arbitration. He said that through the trickery of a former secretary their application for a charter had been withheld.

Delegate Lennon moved the following as a substitute:

That a committee, to consist of G. W. Perkins, R. W. Woodbury and T. J. Elderkin, be and hereby are requested to investigate the question of the advisability of the amalgamation of the Steamfitters with the Plumbers, or of the granting of a separate charter to the Steamfitters, and shall report to the President of the American Federation of Labor their findings and recommendations within sixty days after the close of this Convention, and the Executive Council shall, upon receipt of said report, again take up the question for consideration.

Delegate McEwen said in case the committee should recommend a separate charter, it would take away a large portion of the Plumbers' membership without their consent. The two branches are coming closer together every day. Lead pipe is being displaced by iron, and there was very little difference now between the two trades.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council for adjudication.

Delegate Cake said the propositions submitted were fair, and supported the action of the Executive Council.

Delegate Duncan said he thought it unwise to separate the organizations, and that the A. F. of L. should use their best efforts to amalgamate the two bodies. He favored the action of the Executive Council.

The previous question was ordered.

The substitute was adopted. Ayes, 27; noes, 20.

Delegate McCormick, for the Committee on Laws, submitted the following report:

On resolution No. 15 the committee reports favorably.

Delegate Dold opposed increasing the per capita from 2 to 5 cents because, in his opinion, it would stop organization. He hoped the resolution would not be concurred in.

Delegate Black was called to the chair.

President Compers opposed the report of the committee. The A. F. of L. had enough

to contend with now. The Convention should not put additional burdens upon them at present. He always held that men who refuse to pay high dues pay very much more into the coffers of the employers. He advocated high dues in the unions, but not in the A. F. of L. While we are largely composed of skilled trades, we have over 100,000 unskilled workmen. The increase last year was justifiable but an increase at this time would appear to be unjust.

Delegate O'Connell said the time had come for the A. F. of L. to make an effort to educate the unions to pay higher dues. If there were organization that could not pay 5 cents per capita we should let them go.

President Gompers asked, that if out of the 5 cents the local was not to receive benefit, what does the proposition imply?

Delegate O'Connell said that in case of trouble the organizations could receive some benefit, and we could help handle their difficulty. He supported the committee's report.

Delegate Cowen said when a local gets into trouble it has to go begging, and that is not a nice thing to do. The time had come when those people who get \$1 a day ought to pay, for it was for their benefit. Organizations go down with low dues because they have nothing in their treasury.

President Gompers declared that he did not oppose high dues, but opposed high assessments in the A. F. of L.

Delegate Innis favored high dues. He believed in higher assessments for the A. F. of L.

Delegate Mahon favored the adoption of the proposition. The American Federation of Labor should teach the policy of high dues. It builds up an organization and keeps the members closer together. It would assist in the work of organization. The unskilled workers need attention and help. How will you accomplish this without funds? You can't organize men on wind. Unions won't form National unions so long as the American Federation of Labor maintains the low per capita. They remain as locals attached to the American Federation of Labor because it is cheaper.

Delegate Kirby felt it necessary to support the proposition, and thought National unions should also pay the increase asked. In order to send out your organizers you must have funds, and the present per capita does not meet the requirements. Give us of the Mountain States the opportunity and we will assist the National unions and make our section the equal of any.

Delegate Jahns desired to know why there was so great a difference between a National union and a Federal Labor union. The time of the American Federation of Labor officers was largely taken up by trade unions and not by Federal Labor unions. He advocated a per capita for the Federal Labor unions in proportion to the attention they receive.

Delegate Jahns asked if the question were based upon the dues of all unions affiliated.

The Chair—No.

Delegate Cable said that according to the resolutions, if adopted, the Federal Labor unions would get the same benefits accorded to National unions.

Delegate O'Connell moved a substitute that the President and Secretary refer the question to the members at interest for referendum vote.

The previous question was ordered.

The substitute was lost—28 for to 36 against.

Delegate Lossie moved to amend by substituting 3 cents for 5 cents. Lost.

The report of the committee was adopted—ayes, 47; noes, 17.

Delegates Dold, Dresler, Jahns, Brown, McCoy, Cahill, Coy and Lossie desired to be recorded as voting against the increase of the per capita tax on local unions.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

The committee reported adversely on resolution No. 13, as it was covered by another resolution already passed upon and agreed to.

The committee submitted the following amendment to Section 1, Article XI, by striking out after the word "month" in the third line, the entire sentence down to and including the fifth line, that it may read as follows: "Central labor bodies and State Federations containing 1,000 members or less shall pay \$2.50 every three months; containing over 1,000 members, \$5 every three months."

Delegate O'Sullivan said the State Federation of Massachusetts did not know its numerical strength. Their money was spent for legislation in the interest of labor. By adopting this law you make it a hardship on these people. The proposition is not a fair one. Keep your hands off at this time. Give us an opportunity to do something. Members of the Massachusetts Legislative Committee do not get anything for their services and pay their own expenses. He opposed the amendment.

Delegate Morrison said so far as state bod-

ies were concerned their per capita was not increased or decreased.

Delegate Lennon said it made but slight change in the amount received from central bodies.

Delegate Furuseth said if you make this provision you will have to permit representation according to taxation. He thought the amendment was unwise.

Delegate McEwen was opposed to any increase in the per capita because his constituents were now taxed as much as they could stand.

The report of the committee was adopted. Ayes, 33; noes, 18.

Delegate Morrison moved that the increased tax go into effect February 1, 1899.

Adopted.

Delegate O'Sullivan made the point of order that the subject was an amendment to the constitution and required a two-thirds vote.

The chair decided the point well taken and that the amendment was defeated.

A roll call for verification was ordered.

For—Mulholland, Gilthorpe, Kent, Gompers, Tracy, Dernel, Whitaker, Cable, Adams, Monaghan, Cowen, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, Dickens, Cake, Speelman, Leigh, Lawlor, Shaffer, Keefe, O'Connell, Reid, McCauley, Mitchell, Hunter, Lewis, Fahy, Fox, Valentine, Black, Miller, Hahn, Sullivan, Kenney, Kelly, Smith, Lennon, Bowman, Donohue, Donnelly, O'Rourke, Cain, Morrison, Kidd, Braunschweig, Bradley, Donnelly, White, McCormick, Kirby Brown, Dold, O'Neil, Innis, Callahan—1,730.

Against—Perigny, Bechtold, Zorn, Morris, Cahill, Dresler, Conine, Furuseth, Elderkin, Mills, White, Witzel, O'Sullivan, Driscoll, McEwen, Curry, Coy, McNeil, Lossie, McNulty, Shamp, Timilty—356.

The resolution was adopted.

On resolution No. 63 the committee reports adversely.

Delegate Lennon stated that the committee could not draft a law that would cover the many conflicting interests of like character.

Delegate Bradley said he was instructed by his constituents to present the amendment. Six out of seven unions of butchers demanded this action. They claimed they received better service in Kansas City, Mo. He opposed the committee report.

The committee's recommendation was adopted.

On resolution No. 68 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 69 the committee reports adversely. Adopted.

On resolution No. 22 the committee reports adversely. Adopted.

On resolution No. 34 the committee recommends reference to the Convention.

Delegate Perigny desired action on the resolution at as early a date as possible. The smaller organizations look for legislation first and organization afterward, and cited the Bakers of New York City, who are now working thirteen and fourteen hours per day, instead of eight.

It was moved to amend to refer to the incoming Executive Committee.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 38 was withdrawn, as it was in the hands of the Committee on Organization.

On resolution No. 51 the committee reports adversely.

Delegate O'Sullivan said this proposition had been submitted to the Massachusetts legislature. Good lawyers, in discussing the matter, had said if it became a law it would do more than anything else to abolish child labor.

Delegate McNeill said he hoped the proposition would not prevail, for if it became a law it would place a tax on these people, which would be a license, and he did not believe in that.

Report adopted.

On resolution No. 60 the committee reports adversely.

Delegate Cowen said we needed funds, and this was a way to get them. The American Federation of Labor would have to say to the unions affiliated, we have got to have funds. Now we do not know how we will support strikers and locked-out men.

The recommendation was non-concurred in. Ayes, 23; noes, 25.

Delegate Cowen moved the adoption of the resolution. Agreed to.

On resolution No. 61 the committee reports adversely.

It was moved to non-concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate Kent declared if the resolution should carry, the Carpenters could furnish work for two conventions.

Delegate Cowen said the proposition didn't affect other than affiliated bodies. We have no way to reach others. A grievance of this sort should be brought up to the Executive Council immediately. It gives us the right to ask assistance when in trouble.



The motion to non-concur in the report of the committee was lost. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McNeil moved the report of the committee as a whole, as amended, be adopted. Adopted unanimously.

Delegate Duncan, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

For resolutions Nos. 73 and 74 the committee offers the following substitute:

WHEREAS, A large merchant marine is desirable for industrial purposes and necessary from the standpoint of national defense, as proved by the difficulty in obtaining suitable transports and experienced seamen during the late war; and

WHEREAS, Among the sundry propositions to increase the merchant marine no cognizance is taken of the constantly decreasing number of native seamen; and

WHEREAS, We hold that any vessel, no matter where built, would in no real sense be American vessels unless manned by native or citizen seamen; and

WHEREAS, We bear in mind that the shipbuilders of our own country, by their own admission, are able to underbid the shipbuilders of Europe; and

WHEREAS, The hours of labor are shorter on the Clyde than in our yards; and

WHEREAS, Our shipbuilders are now drawing their crews from the whole earth, regardless of experience, language, nationality or race, at rates of wages entirely controlled by localities and the same to all nations' vessels; therefore,

RESOLVED, That while we favor an increased national merchant marine, we are opposed to any and all subsidies, holding that they are unnecessary and have so far done nothing to improve the condition of the employees of either the shipbuilders or shipowners, nor to induce native boys to become seamen.

Delegate Giltorpe said the adoption of the resolution would practically kill the ship building industry in this country. The industry was very young and unable to compete with its old country competitors. If such action be taken by the government there wouldn't be a shipyard in America. Was opposed to substitute of the committee because it would injure his union. He hoped the resolution would be modified.

Delegate Lennon stated that for a period up to 1840 the ship building industry was equal to that of any country of the same population, but after that had retrograded. He thought the industry amply able to care for itself.

The time for adjournment having arrived, Delegate McNeill moved a suspension of the rules and that the Convention continue in session till 1 o'clock. Adopted.

Delegate Kent said we didn't want to draw

chestnuts out of the fire for any corporations. We can build ships here cheaper than anywhere. The natural resources of the country furnish everything necessary in abundance and the facilities for marketing it are better and quicker than anywhere. The only protection the workingman has is his trade union. He favored the committee's substitute.

Delegate Duncan stated that the committee, after due consideration of both resolutions, had adopted a middle course.

The substitute was adopted.

On resolution No. 87 the committee recommends it be amended as follows: Strike out the words "the Nicaragua" and substitute the article "a." Strike out the word "and" in the second line. Strike out the second whereas. Strike out the words "the Nicaragua" in the second line of the resolve and insert the article "a," and after the word "canal" in the same line insert the words "connecting the Gulf of Mexico and Pacific Ocean." Strike out the word "that" and insert the word "such" in the same line and add the words "therefore, Resolved," in same line, so that, as amended it will read:

WHEREAS, The recent Spanish-American war has revived the possibilities of the building of a canal connecting the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean; therefore,

RESOLVED, That in the event of the enactment by Congress of a law touching on the construction of such canal; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., etc. (See resolution No. 87, page 74.) Adopted.

On resolution No. 66 the committee recommends the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That in view of the efforts made by the trade unionists of the country to protect the interests of the postoffice employees, we suggest the advisability of those employees joining the trade union movement, and to thus render by their affiliation with us a just return of service to other wage-workers.

On resolution No. 125 the committee recommends striking out the first whereas, and, as amended, reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 129 the committee recommends a substitute, Delegate O'Sullivan of the committee dissenting:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by trade unionists and workmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the courts nor as the pliant tools of corporate wealth; and

RESOLVED, That as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of po-

litical servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls at every election.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in regard to the use of the ballot, and recommends to its International, National and local organizations continued and increased discussion of social and economic questions in their conventions and union meetings.

Delegate Lloyd moved to amend by adding the words "as they affect wage-earners." Adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was amended was adopted.

On resolution No. 133 the committee recommends it inexpedient to legislate, as the Convention has already acted on the subject.

Delegate Lloyd did not believe there was the slightest danger in taking a step backward. We didn't say on other propositions we reaffirm our past action. He didn't want to help any political party, and he didn't want the papers to say we had abandoned silver.

Delegate Duncan said the American Federation of Labor was not responsible for the attitude of the press, and thought the stand of the American Federation of Labor was explicit and needed no further action at the hands of the Convention.

Delegate Kirby said he represented people, without regard to party affiliations, who were silver men from top to bottom. He knew the Convention was in favor of silver, and wanted it to say so again and refute the statements of the press. He moved the report of the committee be non-concurred in and the resolution adopted.

Delegate McGuire said we had reiterated our action upon other subjects four different times, and favored the resolution.

Delegate Whitaker favored the resolution and was against the report of the committee. The workmen of the United States were silver men. They demand the adoption of this expression. The press has criticised our stand on the silver question and given out the impression that we have gone back on silver.

Delegate Miller opposed the report of the committee. Every monopoly and corporation that shoots down workmen is arrayed on the other side, and it should not take us long to say where we are.

The recommendation of the committee was non-concurred in and the resolution adopted.

On resolution No. 136 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 137 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

The committee recommend the adoption of the following:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby are extended to the trade unions of Kansas City and the citizens generally for their generous hospitality to the delegates to this Convention; and

RESOLVED, That our thanks be also tendered to the public press of the country for the amount of space given to our proceedings.

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
LOUIS JAHNS,  
EUGENE F. O'ROURKE,  
JOHN MITCHELL,  
T. L. LEWIS,  
JOHN F. O'SULLIVAN, Clerk.

Adopted.

Delegate O'Connell, for the Committee on Boycotts and Labels, reported as follows:

On resolution No. 64 the committee recommends reference to the Executive Council. Adopted.

Delegate Darnell, for the Special Committee on Universal Label, submitted a majority and a minority report, as follows:

#### MAJORITY REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Universal Label beg leave to report: That while a Universal Label is much to be desired, still many complications stand in the way of its present adoption; therefore, we recommend that it be made a subject of discussion for the coming year, with a view of removing the obstacles now in the way.

And we further recommend, that the incoming Executive Council advise with the heads of the different National and International organizations now having labels, and with their co-operation adopt a uniform label, to be used on all union made goods, the same to be adopted by the A. F. of L. and all unions holding charters direct from that body, and such label to be the only one recognized by the A. F. of L.

EUGENE F. O'ROURKE,  
JULIUS ZORN,  
JOHN F. TOBIN,  
JOHN WITZEL,  
MARTIN LAWLOR, Secretary.

#### MINORITY REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

The undersigned members of the Universal Label Committee beg leave to submit a minority report, viz.:

While a Universal Label is, perhaps, much to be desired, still many complications stand in the way of its adoption; therefore, we, the minority, recommend that the matter be made a subject of discussion for the coming year; and, further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council advise with the National and International organizations having labels on the subject of a uniform label to be used on all un-

ion made goods, and to report their findings to the next Convention of the A. F. of L.

JOHN C. DERNELL, Chairman,  
SAMUEL AUTLER.

Delegate Tracy moved the adoption of the minority report.

Delegate O'Rourke favored the majority report.

Delegate Whitaker said the many organizations having labels of their own should be given an opportunity to discuss the question.

Delegate Cain said some of the arguments against would apply as well to the adoption of a universal label. The International Typographical Union was in favor of its adoption, and if it was favorable he could not see why others should object.

Delegate Lennon was opposed at the present time to the adoption of the universal label because it would tend to destroy the autonomy of the unions. The American Federa-

tion of Labor has no power to adopt a label for any organization without its consent.

Delegate Furuseth said he had but a few words to say on the subject, and they were, "Remember the Richmond convention of the K. of L."

Delegate Dold favored the minority report. The unions with labels have been experimenting for years, and their experience should be canvassed to protect the label.

Delegate Dernell said it would lead to confusion to adopt the label at the present time. You can tell which union makes the goods now. With the Universal Label you would have to look for the trade mark on it.

The previous question was ordered.

The motion to substitute the minority report for the majority was adopted. Ayes, 33; nocs, 19.

Adjourned at 1 P. M.

## EIGHTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 P. M. by Treasurer Lennon.

On motion roll call was dispensed with.

On motion the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Delegate Kent, for the Committee on Organization, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Organization, after considering resolution No. 124, report favorably on the same as amended by the committee:

RESOLVED, That in order to carry out the provisions of resolutions already adopted regarding the appointment of organizers in the Southern and Inter-Mountain States, an assessment of 2 cents is hereby levied upon all National, International and local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. for each member in good standing at this time, and that this assessment is paid to the A. F. of L. on or before April 1st, 1899.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 38 is disapproved, the purpose of said resolution, viz.: that of providing ways and means to carry on the work of organization, being provided for in resolution No. 124. Adopted.

On resolution No. 120 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

On resolution No. 101 the committee reports favorably.

It was moved to amend by inserting after the word "Colorado," in the second line of the first whereas, the words "and members of the International Typographical Union, employees of the 'Express and Courier, of Buffalo, N. Y.;" and also, to insert the words "International Typographical Union" after the word "Machinists" in the third line of the second resolve. Adopted.

On motion the report of the committee as a whole as amended was adopted, and the committee discharged.

Delegate Driscoll, for the Committee on Local or Federated Bodies, reports as follows:

On resolution No. 90 the committee reports favorably. Adopted.

Delegate Black, for the Committee on Grievances, reported as follows:

On resolution No. 97 the committee submits the following substitute, Delegate Grant dissenting:

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, condemns the action of the S. F. P. A. of Chicago, Ill., as being contrary to the principles of trade unionism, and altogether obnoxious to organized labor.

Delegate Doyle objected to the adoption of the resolution. He declared if such action were taken it would place the A. F. of L. in the position of endorsing cheap labor.

Delegate Grant moved that the matter be referred to the special committee to whom was referred the affair of the Steamfitters.

Delegate Dold said he thought it was the same question, and it would probably result in bringing the three unions together.

Delegate Spencer opposed reference of the question to any committee.

Delegate O'Neil asserted he could not find justice in Chicago and came here for it.

The previous question was ordered.

The motion to refer was lost. Ayes, 12; noes, 40.

The motion by which 3 o'clock was made special order for election of officers was reconsidered, and a motion to proceed to nominate and elect officers was adopted.

Delegate O'Brien was called to the chair. Nominations for Presidents were declared in order.

For President: Delegate McNeill nominated Samuel Gompers with a few appropriate remarks. Seconded by Delegate Kirby.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the Convention for Samuel Gompers for President, which was done, and he was declared elected.

Delegates Carey (Jas. F.), Cahill and Cowen desired to be recorded as voting against President Gompers for re-election. So ordered.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

For First Vice-President: Delegate Woodbury nominated P. J. McGuire, and the same course was pursued.

For Second Vice-President: Delegate O'Neil nominated James Duncan, and the same course was pursued.

For Third Vice-President: Delegate White nominated James O'Connell, and the same course was pursued.

For Fourth Vice-President: Delegate Keefe nominated John Mitchell.

Delegate Cake nominated Theodore J. Shaffer.

Delegate Kinney nominated John Fahy.

Delegate Lloyd nominated Thos. I. Kidd.

Delegate Fitzgerald nominated John F. Tobin.

Nominations closed and roll call ordered.

For Mitchell—Mulholland, Grant, Gompers, Tracy, Dornell, Whitaker, Morris, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, Keefe, Miners delegation (80 votes), Fox, Valentine, Black, Sullivan, Spen-

cer, Donohue, Typographical delegation (72 votes), Kirby, Lossie, Dold, O'Neil, Sefferien—872.

For Shaffer—O'Brien, Dickens, Cake, Speelman, O'Connell, Smith, Lennon, Mills, Coy, Flaherty, McCormick—208.

For Fahy—Kenney—29.

For Kidd—Tobin, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Leigh, Lawlor, Cahill, Dresler, Warner, Lewis, Miller, Hahn, Mahon, Furuseth, Elderkin, Typographical delegation (72 votes), Braunschweig, Doyle, McEwen, McNeill, Jahns, Timilty—718.

For Tobin—Perigny, Fitzgerald, Slocum, Gilthorpe, Bechtold, Zorn, Cable, Adams, Monaghan, Cowen, Shaffer, Conine, Reid, McCauley, Miners delegation (40 votes), Kelly, Bowman, White, Witzel, Typographical delegation (145 votes), Kidd, Jones, O'Sullivan, Driscoll, Hayes, Carey, Curry, Bradley, Casey, Donnelly (M.), White (John S.), Smith, Shamp, Plieiman, Brown, Innis, Callahan—697.

No election. Delegate Fahy having received the lowest number of votes, his name was dropped.

Delegate Shaffer withdrew his name.

Second vote taken and resulted as follows:

For Mitchell—Mulholland, Tobin (47 votes), Grant, Gompers, Tracy, Dornell, Whitaker, Morris, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Cake, Speelman, Keefe, Miners delegation (80 votes), Iron Moulders' delegation (129 votes), Sullivan, Spencer, Kenney, Smith (C. T.), Witzel, Typographical delegation (72 votes), Kidd, Coy, McCormick, Kirby, Lossie, Dold, O'Neil, Sefferien—1,022.

For Kidd—Tobin (47 votes), McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Leigh, Lawlor, Cahill, Dresler, O'Connell, Warner, Miners delegation (80 votes), Miller, Hahn, Furuseth, Elderkin, Lennon, Typographical delegation (72 votes), Braunschweig, Doyle, McEwen, McNeill, Jahns, Timilty—740.

For Tobin—Perigny, Fitzgerald, Slocum, Gilthorpe, Brewery Workmen (100 votes), Cable, Adams, Monaghan, Cowen, Dickens, Shaffer, Conine, Reid, McCauley, Kelly, Mahon, Bowman, Mills, White (John W.), Typographical delegation (145 votes), Kidd (13 votes), Jones, Driscoll, Hayes, Carey, Curry, Bradley, Casey, Donnelly (M.), Flaherty, White (John S.), Smith (J. V.), Shamp, Plieiman, Brown, Innis, Callahan—757.

No election. The name of Delegate Kidd was dropped and the roll call on the third ballot resulted:

For Mitchell—Mulholland, Grant, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Gompers, Tracy, Dernel, Whitaker, Morris, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Cake, Speelman, Leigh, Lawlor, Cahill, Keefe, O'Connell, Warner, Miners delegation (80 votes), Fox, Valentine, Black, Sullivan, Spencer, Kenney, Kelley, Smith, Furuseth, Elderkin, Lennon, Donohue, Witzel, Typographical delegation (144 votes), Doyle, McCormick, Jahns, Kirby, Lossie, Dold, O'Neil, Sefferien—1,492 votes.

For Tobin—Perigny, Fitzgerald, Slocum, Gilthorpe, Bechtold, Zorn, Cable, Adams, Monaghan, Cowen, Dickens, Dresler, Shaffer, Conine, Reid, McCauley, Miller, Hahn, Mahon, Bowman, Mills, White, Typographical delegation (145 votes), Kidd, Braunschweig, Jones, Driscoll, Hayes, McEwen, Carey, Curry, Bradley, Casey, Donnelly (M.), Flaherty, White, Smith, Shamp, Plieman, Brown, Innis, Callahan—846.

Pending the ballot, Fraternal Delegates Inskip and Thorn were respectively called to the chair.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

The following telegram was read:

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 20, 1898.  
Samuel Gompers, Esq., Pres't A. F. of L.,  
Strope's Hall, Kansas City, Mo:  
Allow me to nominate for your next annual meeting place the City of the Straits, better known as the convention city, Detroit. The home of the potato mayor and fighting governor bids you hearty welcome.

HENRY C. BARTER,  
Secretary-Treasurer International Longshoremen's Associations.

Place of Meeting: Delegate O'Sullivan nominated Detroit, Mich. Seconded by Delegates Keefe, Tobin, and Mulholland.

Delegate Carey nominated Louisville, Ky.

Delegate Bowman nominated Atlanta, Ga.

Delegate Cable nominated Milwaukee, Wis.

Delegate Hayes nominated Cleveland, O.

The vote resulted: Detroit, 68; Louisville, 10; Atlanta, 1; Milwaukee, 2; Cleveland, 3. Detroit was declared selected.

Delegate Mitchell having received a majority of all votes cast, was declared elected Fourth Vice-President.

For Fifth Vice-President: Delegate Whitaker nominated Max Morris.

Delegate Tobin nominated Wm. J. Gilthorpe. Nominations closed.

Roll call resulted as follows:

For Morris—Perigny, Mulholland, Grant, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Gompers, Tracy, Dernel, Whitaker, Monaghan, Autler,

Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Cake, Speelman, Leigh, Lawlor, Cahill, Dresler, Shaffer, Keefe, O'Connell, Reid, Warner, Mitchell, Hunter, Lewis, Fahy, Fox, Valentine, Black, Sullivan, Spencer, Kenney, Kelly, Smith (C. T.), Furuseth, Elderkin, Lennon, Witzel, Typographical delegation (144½ votes), Braunschweig, Jones, Driscoll, McEwen, Coy, McCormick, Jahns, Kirby, Lossie, Timilty, Dold, O'Neil, Sefferien—1,716½ votes.

For Gilthorpe—Fitzgerald, Slocum, Tobin, Cable, Adams, Cowen, Dickens, Conine, McCauley, Miller, Hahn, Mahon, Bowman, Mills, White (John W.), Donohue, Typographical delegation (144½ votes), Kidd, Doyle, Hayes, Carey, Curry, Bradley, Casey, Donnelly (M.), Flaherty, White (John S.), Smith, Shamp, Plieman, Brown, Innis, Callahan—706½.

Delegate Morris was declared elected.

For Sixth Vice-President: Delegate Driscoll nominated H. S. Mills.

Delegate White nominated W. D. Mahon. Delegate Lloyd nominated Thomas I. Kidd.

After roll call was taken and before the result was announced, Delegate Mahon, with the consent of Delegate Mills, withdrew their names and moved to make the election of Thomas I. Kidd unanimous. Motion adopted.

Delegate Kidd was declared elected.

For Secretary: Delegate John W. White nominated Frank Morrison.

Assistant Secretary Allen was instructed to cast the full vote of the Convention, which was done, and Frank Morrison was declared unanimously elected.

For Treasurer: Delegate Bowman nominated John B. Lennon, and the same course was pursued.

For Fraternal Delegate: Delegate Kelly nominated Thomas F. Tracy.

Delegate McGuire nominated Owen Miller.

Nominations closed. Roll call resulted as follows:

For Tracy—Perigny, Mulholland, Grant, Cigarmakers' delegation, Morris, Monaghan, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Speelman, Cahill, Keefe, Conine, O'Connell, Reed, Warner, McCauley, Mitchell, Hunter, Fox, Valentine, Black, Sullivan, Spencer, Kenney, Kelly, Smith (Chas. T.), Lennon, White (John W.), Typographical delegation (289 votes), Jones, Driscoll, Doyle, Casey, Flaherty, McCormick, McNeill, Kirby, Lossie, Brown, Timilty, Dold, O'Neil, Sefferien—1,372.

For Miller—Fitzgerald, Slocum, Tobin, Gilthorpe, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Ca-

ble, Adams, Cowen, Dickens, Cake, Leigh, Lawlor, Dresler, Shaffer, Lewis, Fahy, Musicians' delegation (60 votes), Hahn, Mahon, Furuseth, Elderkin, Bowman, Donohue, Witzel, Kidd, Braunschweig, Hayes, McEwen, Carey, Curry, Bradley, Coy, Donnelly (M.), White (J. S.), Jahns, Shamp, Plieman, Innis, Callahan—994.

Delegate Tracy was declared elected.

For Fraternal Delegate: Delegate McNeill nominated James O'Connell.

Delegate Hayes nominated Adrian M. Jones.

Delegate Coy nominated Joseph Cahill. (Declined.)

Delegate Furuseth nominated Owen Miller. Nominations closed and roll call ordered.

For O'Connell—Mulholland, Grant, McGuire, Lloyd, Woodbury, Kent, Gompers, Tracy, Dernel, Whitaker, Morris, Monaghan, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Leigh, Lawlor, Machinists' delegation (100 votes), Fox, Valentine, Black, Sullivan, Spencer, Kenney, Kelly, Smith (C. T.), Mahon, Lennon, Bowman, White, (J. W.), Typographical delegation (217 votes), Kidd, Driscoll, Doyle, Casey, McCormick, (1-2 vote), McNeill, Kirby, Lossie, Brown, Timilty, Dold, O'Neil, Innis, Callahan—1,424 1-2.

For Jones—Shaffer, Typographical delegation (72 votes), Flaherty, McCormick (1-2 vote)—153 1-2 votes.

For Miller—Perigny, Fitzgerald, Slocum, Gilthorpe, Cable, Adams, Dickens, Dresler, Keefe, McCauley, Mitchell, Hunter, Lewis, Fahy, Musicians' delegation (60 votes) Furuseth, Elderkin, Donohue, Witzel, Braunschweig, Curry, Bradley, Donnelly (M.), White, (John S.), Jahns, Shamp, Plieman—646 votes.

Delegate O'Connell was declared elected.

For Delegate to Canadian Labor Congress: Delegate Duncan nominated James H. Sullivan.

Delegate Braunschweig nominated W. D. Mahon.

Nominations closed. Roll call ordered.

For Sullivan—Mulholland, Slocum, McGuire, Lloyd, Gompers, Tracy, Dernel, Whitaker, Morris, Cable, Monaghan, Autler, Sabine, Duncan, O'Brien, Dresler, Shaffer, Keefe, Conine, O'Connell, Warner, Mitchell, Hunter, Fox, Valentine, Black, Kenney, Kelly, Smith (C. T.), Furuseth, Lennon, White (J. W.), Typographical delegation (217 votes), Kidd, Doyle, Bradley, Casey, Coy, Donnelly (M.), McCormick, Jahns, Kirby, Lossie, Brown, Timilty, Dold, O'Neil—1,502.

For Mahon—Gilthorpe, Woodbury, Kent, Adams, Dickens, Reid, McCauley, Lewis, Fahy, Miller, Hahn, Elderkin, Donohue, Witzel, Typographical delegation (72 votes), Braunschweig, Curry, Flaherty, White (J. S.), Shamp, Plieman, Sefferien, Innis, Callahan—612.

Delegate Sullivan was declared elected.

Delegate Lennon moved that the question of Legislative Committee be referred to the Executive Council. Adopted.

President Gompers introduced Mr. Thomas H. West, who sang, "Stick to Your Union."

On motion it was ordered that the words of the song, "Stick to Your Union," by Thomas H. West, be published in the proceedings, and that the words and music be published in the *American Federationist*.

#### STICK TO YOUR UNION.

Words and Music by Thomas H. West, Kansas City, Mo.

(Dedicated to the A. F. of L.)

I'll now relate a story, it happened years ago,  
And the words a noble father said, which  
all of you should know.  
His son had quit the workshop, with others  
of his trade,  
The struck against injustice, a cut the  
firm had made.  
His father, old and feeble, came to meet  
him at the door,  
And listened to the story that his son re-  
lated o'er,  
About his shopmates' action, and what the  
firm had done,  
The old man listened to it all and thus  
spoke to his son:

Chorus:

Stick to your Union, lad, don't be a knave;  
Show every tyrant that you won't be a slave.  
Obey your aged father; God bless you now,  
my son;  
Stick to your Union, 'till the strike is won.

The son was much affected—he grasped his  
father's hand.  
Said he, we are united, and justice we  
demand.  
Don't be alarmed about us, we never shall  
return  
Until the firm restores to us, the sum we  
justly earn.  
The Union held a meeting that evening in  
their hall,  
Each member was determined the Union  
should not fall.  
The old man to the platform by his son was  
gently led,  
Who, 'mid great applause, repeated the  
words his father said:

Chorus:

The strike was long and bitter, the men re-  
fused to yield;  
No traitors were among them, as time at  
length revealed.  
At last the firm relented, and sent for them  
one day  
And told them they'd decided to restore  
their former pay.  
Of course there was rejoicing, but that night  
the old man died;  
Their joy then turned to sorrow, for he  
was the Union's pride.  
They marched, to do him honor, in silence to  
the grave.

Now inscribed upon his monument is this  
advice he gave:

Chorus:

After the singing of "Auld Lang Syne,"  
the convention adjourned *sine die*.

FRANK MORRISON,

Secretary American Federation of Labor.  
FORD A. ALLEN,  
Assistant Secretary.



